age, wich is unanymous-ound a pakage of goods t paper I saw your name to killed the niggers at n child ov nachar—l'm ler the same delushun that time that I wuz

that time that I wus
them property ov ours
u kotes onto. I hev no
w writin a justificashen,
sands uv the shivelrous
ould like a good square
g to be consiliatid. The
the guverment to coning prodygle suns—kil
out your gold rings, and
We ask condishms—we
are disposed to be reato acknowledge the sont, but there must be no
igh-spireted peeple like
o sir, we cannot. Ther
scashen, no disfranchisin,
just as we stept out, rescashen, no disfranchiming as we stept out, retin to engineerin to get
not here encomerated,
the union would not be
liler mockery. Wat we
d on luv, which is strongauskits. Harts is trumps
and all is well."
a all this wat do yoo perats?"
reis melt with huv. We
take the old attitoode,

reat. A ginooine northle here below, but wants
a small post orfis, a nigl a nigger to look down
ppy. Ef a angle in gloaces with him, harp, goll ask odds."

s you kin hev—we don't

aces with him, harp, gold ask odds."

is you kin hev—we don't to make the platforms, ty, high-toned men kin understood. The scenes understood. The scenes more Dugliss's. Under dance when we fiddle, Sathern hart must never neume itself.

o cath, I shel immejitly is—see to it that ye heve the we jintly kin controlion, by lav, there must debt must never be pade, must never be peashus art a deliteful speciacle gougin each other onto a drawin penshuns aminery! The eagle would angles would exclame, our penshun laws is so marshel fer the confict.

marshel fer the confict.
to collect expense murris, and Kernal Moseby,
Dick Turner, and Borehero (take orf your hat
) Genral Robert E. Lee,
e North fer yer tickets. n manner, takin my new n his old wuns; "who ez the, forever and ever." EUM V. NASBY,

uv the Noo Dispens PORTANT

TERESTING! Pacts, Fancies and Folia.

The result of Scientific LEY POTTER, New York

THE LIBERATOR -18 PUBLISHED -

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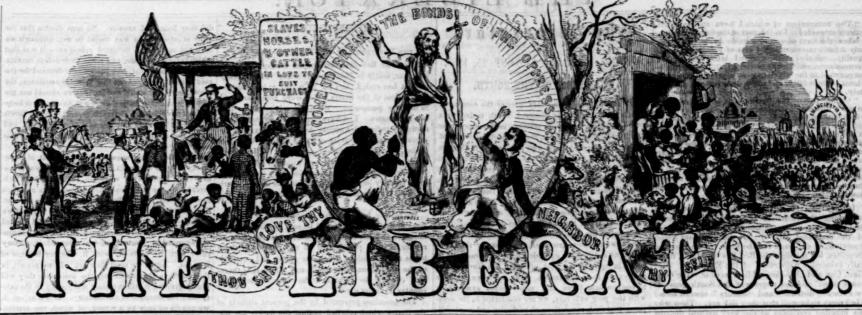
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT. FTERMS - Three dollars and fifty cents in advance

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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are red to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Financia tee, but are not responsible for any debts of the oct, vis :- WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, ED MAN JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1865.

J. B. YERBINTON & BON, Printers.

Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being.

true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive

naragement of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ABNY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-

CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. ... From the instant that the slavebolding States become the theatre of a war, cavil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers

of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IR EVERT WAY IN WHICH IF CAN BE INTERPRED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. . I say it is a way power; and when your country is actually in war, whether

it be a war of invasion or a war of insarrection, Congress has power to cory on the war, and Most camer it on, Ac-

an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institu-tions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE

PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 34.

Selections.

SUFFRAGE IN FREE STATES.

MAINE. ber Constitution adopted October 29th, 1819, es the ballot to every male citizen of the United tes of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, phing paupers, persons under guardianship and months. But persons in the military, naval, or marine service, quartered in the State, and students attending a seminary of learning, do not acquire a residence thereby. (Includes negroes.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE, br her Constitution, adopted 1792, gives the ballot "every male inhabitant" of twenty-one years, the every main inhabitant of twenty-one years, except paupers and persons excused from paying taxes at their own request. Freehold property qualifications were formerly required for office-holders, but these are abolished. New Hampshire never excluded colored men from voting or holding office.

VERMONT, which abolished slavery by her Constitution, adopted July 4th, 1793, declared in her Bill of Rights that all freemen, having sufficient evidence of common interest with an attachment to the commity, have a right to elect officers and be elected ato office." By article 21, "every man" twentyme years of age, who has resided one year in the State, who behaves himself quietly and peaceably, and who will take an oath to vote "so as in your conscience you shall judge will most conduce to the best good" of the State, may vote. In Vermont, therefore, "a white man is as good as a negro, if be behaves himself as well "-not otherwise.

MASSACHUSETTS, wher original Constitution, adopted in 1780, gave the ballot to every male person twenty-one years of age, resident in the Commonwealth, having an annual income of three pounds from a freehold, or any

te worth \$60 logs to every male citizen twenty-one years of age, (except papers and persons under guardianship.) who shall have paid any tax assessed within two years, or who shall be exempted from taxation. But by Art. 20 of the Amendments, "No person shall have the right to vote, or be eligible to office sales the Constitution of this Compositionally who under the Constitution of this Commonwealth, who shall not be able to read the Constitution in the English language, and write his name: Provided, however, that the provisions of this amendment hall not apply to any person prevented by a physical disability from complying with its requisitions, nor to any person who now has the right to age and upwards at the time this amendment shall take effect." Massachusetts, therefore, never excluded any man from voting on account of color.

RHODE ISLAND, by her Constitution of 1842, gives the right of suf-

To every male citizen, of full age, one year in the State, six months in the town, owning real etlate worth \$134, or renting for \$7 per annum.

2. To every native male citizen of full age,
(wo years in the State, six months in the town, who s daly registered, who has paid \$1 tax, or done militia service within the year. Hence in Rhode shard a native negro votes without a property qualification, while a foreign-born white citizen cannot.

CONNECTICUT

gives the ballot to all persons, white or black, who (1818.) and subsequently to "every white male citi-zen of the United States," of full age, resident six months in the town, and owning a freehold of the tearly value of \$1, or who shall have performed militia duty, paid a State tax, and sustained a good noral character within the year. This was amend-din 1845 by striking out the property and tax-aying qualifications, and fixing the residence at the year in the State and six months in the town. Only those negroes have voted in Connicut who were admitted freemen prior to 1818.

NEW YORK

dmits to the suffrage "every male citizen," of full e, who shall have been ten days a citizen, one ar in the State, four months in the county, and irty days in the district. But no man of color shall tote unless he has been three years a citizen of the State, and for one year the owner of a free-bold worth \$250 over incumbrances, on which he shall have raid a tax, and he is to be subject to no from have raid a tax, and he is to be subject to no direct tax unless he owns such freehold. Laws are authorized, and have been passed, excluding from the suffrage persons convicted of bribery, larceny, or any infamous crime, also persons betting on the dection. No person gains or loses a residence by mason of presence or absence in the service of the United States—nor in navigation—nor as a student in a seminary—nor in any asylum or prison. A negstry law also exists.

white male citizen" of full age residing one year in the State, and "every white male inhabitant" who was a resident of the State at the adoption of this Constitution. Like provisions to those of Indiana exist here relative to soldiers, seamen, marines, and persons in the service of the United States.

MICHIGAN,
by her Constitution adopted 1850, gives the ballot to every white male citizen, to every white male inhabitant residing in the State Jan. 1, 1850, who has declared his intentions, &c., or who has resided two and a half years in the State and declared his intentions, and to every civilized male Indian inhabitant not a member of any tribe.

But no person shall vote unless of full resident three states and fox, the great political rivals, soon joined the terminate. We need not here exerting the battle which has been carried on among ourselves, during the last fifty years, to abolish slavery—which was finally done during the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln. It may not be without interest, however, to give the dates of its abolition elsewhere.

The first step in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was taken in 1788, when a petition, signed by Quakers, was presented. Pitt and Fox, the great political rivals, soon joined the tendence of the particulars of the battle which has been carried on among ourselves, during the last fifty years, to abolish slavery—which was finally done during the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln. It may not be without interest, however, to give the dates of its abolition elsewhere.

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IOWA. Every "white male citizen" of the United States,

of full age, resident six months in the State, sixty days in the county (with like exceptions of persons

(or of Mexico who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States under treaty of Queretaro) of full age, resident six months in the State and thirty days in the district. The legislature has power to extend the right to Indians and their descendants. (Like sundry provisions as above.)

OREGON

Every white male citizen of full age, six months a resident in the State, and every white male alien, of full age, resident in the United States one year, who has declared his intentions, may vote, but "no negro, Chinaman, or mulatto." KANSAS

gives the ballot to every white male adult, resident six months in the State and thirty days in the town, who is either a citizen or has delared his intentions.

WEST VIRGINIA. Every white male citizen (except minors, luna-tics and felons), resident one year in the State and thirty days in the county.

The results sum up thus: Of the twenty-one free States enumerated, eight permit negro suffrage to a greater or less extent. These are the New England States, New York and Ohio. Of the remainder, two—New Jersey and Pennsylvania—are strongly "Democratic," and the rest framed their strongly "Democratic," and the rest framed their constitutions and applied for admission at a time when slavery ruled Congress and the nation. Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas and Illinois (seven) admit as voters those not yet citizens; and beside the New England States, four—to wit: Michigan, Wisconsin, California and Minnesota—provide for voting by Indians. One (Massachusetts) excludes the ignorant, and one (Oregon) excludes Chinamen.—Chicago and one (Oregon) excludes Chinamen .- Chicago

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS.

ANTI-SLAVERY PROGRESS.

This is a start of the workings of the institution. It know its dark-the start which we published yesterday, to the start which we published yesterday, to the start which we published pesterday, to the start which we published yesterday, to the start whi

one year in the United States and six months preceding the election in the State, and who has declared his intentions to become a citizen. No soldier or marine shall acquire a vote by being quartered in the State, nor shall any person lose his vote by absence in the service of the State or United States. "No negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage."

ILLINOIS,

of Independence was drawn up and signed. Our Continental Congress resolved, in 1776, that the importation of slaves should cease; but in 1788, this was taken back, and the year 1808 fixed as the period when it must terminate. We need not here repeat the particulars of the battle which has been

a petition, signed by Quakers, was presented. Pitt and Fox, the great political rivals, soon joined the abolition movement. Effort after effort, succeeding in one House and failing in the other, was almost a annually made. At last, when Fox was last in office, in 1806, the Government brought on abolition as their own measure, and it was passed, in 1807, after the death of Fox. Still, this only abolished the slave trade. Steps were then taken, the movement being still headed by Wilberforce and Clarkson, to mitigate and abolish Slavery itself; and, in 1833, this was done, by act of Parliament, \$100,500,000 being paid as compensation to the slavedays in the county (with like exceptions of persons of persons in military or naval service, idiots, insane persons owners, out of the public treasury. This emancipation virtually took place on August 1, 1854. France, which was interested in the slave-trade, abolished it Every male person of full age, resident one year in 1791, but Napoleon restored it, and again abolthe State, and being either,—1. A white citizen of the United States; 2. A white alien who has declared his intentions; 3. A person of Indian blood who has once been declared a citizen by act of Congress; 4. Civilized persons of Indian descent not members of any tribe. (With like exceptions of felons in sane persons and soldiers, & exceptions of felons in sane persons and soldiers, & exteriored of the Netherlands it was abolished in 1818; in Sweden, in 1846-7; in Denmark, in 1848; in Halland, in 1860. Spain pregions in 1841, that not members of any tribe. (With like exceptions of felons, insane persons, and soldiers, &c., stationed in the State.)

CALIFORNIA.

Every white male citizen of the United States (or of Mexico who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States under treaty of Quere-

forever, under her flag.

Spain and Brazil, therefore, are the only cons-Spain and Brazil, therefore, are the only countries, claiming to be civilized, which continue legal protection to "property" in human flesh and blood, by their citizens held in bondage. It is impossible that this can continue much longer. The rulers of the United States and four months in the State, and being either,—1. A white citizen of the United States; 2. A white alien who has declared his intentions; 3. Civilized persons of mixed white and Indian blood; 4. Civilized Indians certified by a district court to be fit for citizenship. (Like sundry provisions as above.)

OREGON.

STATE OF THINGS "DOWN SOUTH."

NORTH CAROLINA, July 18th, 1865.

Probably some of your readers would like to hear from the "down-South" country. It is a land in which your people felt an interest in times past, and much more so now, since it is understood the dark pall of slavery is about to be rolled away from its fair and sunny face forever. But I fear unless more decisive and energetic measures are adopted by the Government to carry out in good faith the by the Government to carry out in good faith the intentions of the deceased President, and of the tiving Northern people, it will take many years be-fore it is an accomplished fact; I mean before slave-ry is really and truly abolished, so as to make the black man feel and realize, in all the relations of life, that he stands, in the sight of God and man, freedman. True, he cannot now be sold as a chattel in these United States, but with this solitary extel in these United States, but with this solitary ex-ception to the ancient supremacy which the institu-tion of slavery wielded over his race, the black man is as much a slave to-day as he was before the elec-tion of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States. Slavery exists now, and exists in its most repulsive form, in this country. The stern logic of war has undoubtedly modified the external aspect of the institution, but it has done so at the

expense of the little humanity which mingled itself
with the administration of its iron code.

From causes over which I had no control, I was
once a slaveholder: I am not, therefore, a stranger
to the workings of the institution. I know its dark-

things to continue? If so, it would be the greatest things to continue? If so, it would be the greatest theory on the part of the National Government to order at once all the freedmen of the South back into slavery. By these means the blacks would have, at all events, the protection of the masters' property interest in their persons, which would insure them kind treatment, and comfortable houses are then kind treatment, and comfortable houses the live in.

Continue of the National Government to their hands, they are and the are and their hands, they are and their hands, they are and the are and their hands, they are and their hands, t

to live in.

What can be done for these people? your readers may ask. I reply, make them "free indeed?" Let the lever of the ballot-box be at once put into the band of the freed African. Make him feel that he is truly a man, and an American citizen, if you intend him to be free in the sense in which Abraham settle forever the political status of the negro, and so secure his freedom, and the permanency of the Union of these States.

Not many weeks ago, during a sojourn of a few days in your State, I opposed, with all my might, the extension of suffrage to the negro; but, since my return home, and observing calmly the practical workings of the quasi-freedom which the armies of the United States have secured to the blacks, I am convinced that, without endowing them with all the rights and privileges which belong to the white American citizen, the whole thing is a farce.

The argument usually employed ago:

Other in the constitution altered, forever discarding all species of peonage, and securing an education to all classes, both white and black; and containing a provision against any change in these respects for twenty years to come. By that time, the negro being both free and educated can take care of his own interests.

OX AND THE NEGROES.

Gen. Cox, the Union candidate the provided ago:

Ohio, has elicited at the provided ago:

Obio, has elicited at the provided ago:

One of the constitution altered, forever discarding all species of peonage, and securing an education to all classes, both white and black; and containing a provision against any change in these respects for twenty years to come. By that time, the negro being both free and educated can take care of his own interests.

OX AND THE NEGROES.

Gen. Cox, the Union candidate the provided agoing the provided ago.

Ox AND THE NEGROES.

The argument usually employed against giving the black man the privilege of voting is, that he is not sufficiently intelligent for so great and important a trust. But when will he become sufficiently intelligent processes the content of the conte intelligent, when his former masters oppose every effort which is made to supply him with the necessary amount of that intelligence? The thing is simply absurd, and the slaveholders know it.

Veritas.

-Corr. Pittsburgh Presbyterian Banner.

AFRICAN PEONAGE.

ignorance and degradation, as timber for the new

sick slaves to die, being already bound to care for them.

But now their theory is that the abolition of slavery has relieved them of all responsibilities of that kind, and that the old and sick being thus off their hands, they are at liberty to disregard them, and deal only with the well and hearty, and their own interests through them.

Let me assure the American people that this is no

Now, in good but quiet earnest, the Southern leaders are laying their plans for its adoption; and five years hence will find it in full operation, unless prevented by the stern and wholesome action of the Government.

Although the opinion contradicts the previous no-tions of the democrats and of pro-slavery men, both North and South, all these accept it as sound with cordial approbation. Now, one of two things must be true: Either these men have been utterly wrong or Gen. Cox is wrong in his conclusions. If the advocates of pro-slavery have been hitherto so palpably in error as this present change in their position indicates, candid men will hesitate to accept their revised and hastily formed opinions, which are put forth with all the positiveness that the old ones were. We cannot believe their testimony on both sides of the same question. Gen. Cox asserts his conviction that there is an

To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press:

Sin: It is not enough that the Southern States should agree to no slavery in its old forms. The shrewdest of their slave-owners have long been white means the white—has an intractable pride mingled with a feeling of hatred, engendered by the circumstances which have attended the war. should agree to no slavery in its old forms. The shrewdest of their slave-owners have long been anxious to give that up for another, (and worse, more profitable to the planter.

They have long since seen that he who was compelled to feed, clothe, nurse, and doctor all those who are too young, too feeble, too sick, and too old to work, as well as the laborers themselves, was paying a round price for his labor done, and have been anxious to exchange it for another system, free from these heavy drawbacks.

It is a fact that no country but one of limitless fertility, whose products are of world-wide demand and limited growth, can support the slave system, unless it be in breeding regions. The extrement such a system; but it was only because of their great fertility and poculiar products; and they have not been slow to see that there might be another far more advantageous to their interests adopted by them.

But they hesitated in its adoption because the reprobation of the world would have fallen upon them with crushing effect. But now this old plot is being revived, and the Southern leaders look apon this as a propitious time to lay the foundations of its eventual adoption. They think the work half done already to their hands; and so it is, unless guarded against.

The plot now is, if compelled to do so, to acknowledge involuntary servitude ended—slavery and deal—but to keep the old slave material still in ingnorance and degradation, as timber for the new

In States are to pass laws providing—first, that the blacks (or poor whites, if they will) may contract debts upon personal security—that is, secured by a mortgage of the labor of the debtor. This makes a slave till the original debt is paid, and until all subsequent indebtedness is paid also. And, second, that the personal services of a debtor may be levied upon, set up at auction, and sold upon the block, by the creditor, in payment of his claim. As this would devolve upon the buyer risks of sickness, nursing, and death of the debtor, as well as the feeding and clothing him, the bids would be so small that a small debt would, of necessity, consign the poor debtor to a long slavery; and then, add to this the debtor's liability to be continued on after its expiration, for the payment upon the same terms, of any debts contracted after the first judgment, and the chances would be ten to one that a debtor, whose services are once sold, is himself forever sold, as the real, though not nominal, slave of his creditor.

The Southern planter reasons thus. There was to exist, it cannot be possible. If any body in the world knows the disposition of the colored people in the South, their former masters must. They have not said that there was an antipathy between the two races. They always averred that they loved Sambo and Cato with the most endearing affection. Did they not rebel because they could not obtain adequate guarantees to keep these black people among them; to take them safely with themselves into new States? They would, not think of undergoing the privation of separation from their colored brothers. They told us, in the most people among them; to take them safely with themselves into new States? They would not think of undergoing the privation of separation from their colored brothers. They told us, in the most people among them; to take them safely with themselves into new States? They would not think of undergoing the privation of separation from their colored brothers. They told us, in the most people among As to the antagonism of feeling which Gen. Cox old, as the real, though not nominal, slave of his freedom, to obey its sweet constraint, as their old masters tell us; so that, if they be allowed to vote, they would vote for their former masters. This is

soid, as the real, though not nominal, slave of his creditor.

The Southern planter reasons thus: There is not one ignorant negro in a thousand, especially having a family, that would not, if he could, run into debt, nor that, when once in debt, would not keep so. Give us the right to sell his services to pay his debts, and he is a slave thenceforth forever. But should he get disabled, become permanently an invalid, or grow old and useless upon our hands, why then we can show our generosty by remitting the balance of the debt, and turning him loose again. It relieves us of the care of the young, and sick, and old, and of all the expenses of clothing and feeding them also. Besides, the world can find no fault with us; for, though slavery in fact, it is not in name; from it is involuntary; for since every man knows when he contracts a debt that he may be sold for it, it is a part of the contract, and so wholly voluntary and according to agreement. Besides, you know it is not selling the man, it is only selling his services, that it is only incidental, and can't be helped. By this arrangement every child is born if ree, and if he can't remain so, whose fault is it? And if this system turns off the old and the sick to suffer or starve, what of that? Are we to blame for men's running into dobt when they are old?

Now this is exactly the system certainly to be inaugurated throughout the cotton States, provided, and starving when they are old?

Now this is exactly the system certainly to be inaugurated throughout the cotton States, provided, congress is fooled into the error of receiving their representatives, and starting up the machinery of State Government before the future condition of the negro is forever fixed. And it is a system cortainly to be incorrected throughout the cotton States, provided the property can be respected by eunning men. They have lost property can be respected by eunning men to plant, energetic men to different property can be respected by eunning men. They have lost property can be respecte

WHOLE NO. 1803. the white men of that State had perished. The proportion of loss in the other States is not probably smaller. Restoration and material growth depend upon the restoration of this vitality. It would, therefore, be an act of superlative folly to eliminate the black laborers from the Southern States and isolate them. It would put those States back a generation. It would complete the dislocation which the desolation and exhaustion of war have brought. By his manhood and his loyalty to his country, the black man is entitled to live where he elects. For his service he ought to remain where he may aid in

his service he ought to remain where he may aid in smoothing the furrows which war has made, and re-newing the prosperity it has checked.—Utica Herald. Gen. Cox has fallen into the common error of supposing that, because his military duties, during the past four years, have brought him in personal contact with the people of the South, he is better prepared than any man, "judging from this distance," can be, to solve the problems involved in the war and reconstruction. When we consider the numberless and varied facilities enjoyed by our Northern people for acquiring correct information, respecting the condition of affairs at the South, many of which are denied to the soldier on duty, we cannot help thinking that there is danger of attaching too much importance to the results of one's

we cannot neep forming that there is danger of at-taching too much importance to the results of one's own experience and observation, especially when they are widely at variance with the views of a majority of the largest and most liberal minds of the country. Gen. Cox claims to have discovered, while at the South, an investrate and ineradicable antagonism between the white and black races, which will forever preclude the possibility of their remaining together on terms of political or social equality. Now this is more a matter of theory than of fact, and, as it forms the basis of his whole scheme for disposing of the question of negro suf-frage, should be carefully examined. Upon this point, the Tribune well says: "It seems to us that Gen. Cox here confounds the

"It seems to us that Gen. Cox here comounds me very obvious and natural antipathy between master and slave, between dominant and subject races, with an antipathy between whites and blacks, which is quite another matter. He says that the freedmen have manifested 'an utter distrust of the dominant race.' No, Gen. Cox, the facts are otherwise. We have manifested 'an utter distrust of the dominant rocc.' No, Gen. Cox, the facts are otherwise. We could quote you from reams of letters and editorials by observers of all parties, who assert that the blacks have evinced not a distrust of, but an overweening and indiscriminate confidence in those who came among them as deliverers. Only let a white be known as Anti-Slavery, and he at once is regarded by the blacks with boundless confidence and affection. Hence, we have been moved to caution these ignorant, simple, credulous people not to trust too readily Hence, we have been moved to caution these ignorant, simple, credulous people not to trust too readily and too far to 'Yankees,' because many of them are hypocrites and knaves, who would gladly make money out of their misplaced confidence. And now for any professed Abolitionist to assert that the Southern freedmen have evinced "an utter distrust of the dominant race,' save as that race presented itself in the character of slaveholders and upholders of slavery, and that they have further evinced toward the white race 'an enmity' 'real and implacable,' is most untrue and unjust. And the negroes of the South will evince abundant faith in their former masters, whenever those musters shall have fully abandoned slavery and all its outworks, and evinced a living faith in the universal and inalienable Rights of Man." universal and inalienable Rights of Man.

universal and inalienable Rights of Man."

We might go even farther than the Tribune, and assert that there is no necessary antipathy between master and slave, except in cases wherein the personal treatment or the sense of the servitude of the latter is involved. A peculiar intimacy has always existed between the white and black races, in all slaveholding communities. The children of white masters, nurtured by black slaves, imitate their ways, catch their dialect, and learn to love them; and, were it not for the spirit of freedom which burns in the breast of every slave, however low or degraded, and which a sense of wrongs endured may kindle into a flame, there would rarely exist, on either side, any other feeling than one of attachment.

may kindle into a flame, there would rarely exist, on either side, any other feeling than one of attachment.

Gen. Cox's argument upon the antagonism of the races proves too much. It is very obvious that no just judgment respecting the state of feeling naturally existing between the whites and blacks at the South can be formed solely from observation of the vivalries and antipathies engendered by the results of the war. Grant that Gen. Cox has seen intense hatred manifested between the freedmen and their late masters: has he not seen hatred as intense manifested by the rebels of the South towards the "Yankees" of the North? If ill-feeling or wounded pride must forever alienate the white and black races from each other, why not also the North and South? We confess to a horror of this doctrine of homogenity," for we remember how strongly it has been advocated in the interests of Secession.

But what remedy does Gen. Cox propose for the state of affairs he so graphically depicts? Not foreign colonization, for that he admits to be impracticable; but "a peaceable separation of the races on the soil where they now are," which is more impracticable still. By virtue of what authority vested in the Government this can be effected, he does not attempt to explain, though he points out certain advantages that would result from its practical evidence.

attempt to explain, though he points out certain advantages that would result from its practical realiza-tion. He would "organize the Freedmen into a dependency of the Union, analogous to the Western territories." We infer that he would not make this

dependency of the Union, analogous to the Western territories." We infer that he would not make this anomalous territorial condition permanent, for he distinctly asserts that, "in the end, the genius of our institutions will tolerate no unequal or sectional laws," and that "neither subject provinces nor military pro-consulships can long co-exist with Republican Government." The "dependency" is, therefore, to ultimately ripen into a State, and have its Senators and Representatives in Congress. Will not the antagonism of the races then show itself in an aggravated form?

Aside from the manifest impracticability of this scheme, there are two fatal objections to it: 1st, It is calculated to perpetuate and embitter any antagonism that may now exist between the white and black races. 2d. It allows to the black race no voice in determining their political destiny. Assume that an antagonism exists, and frame all laws and institutions with reference thereto, and one will most assuredly be speedily developed. Assign to the negro his future position in government and society, as though it were a matter for the white man alone to decide, and you cannot fail to do him most cruel injustice. Nor will be remain quietly in that position. He will, in time, assert and maintain his right to be an equal participator in all the blessings and franchises enjoyed by his fellow-countrymen of a lighter hue.

and franchises enjoyed by his fellow-countrymen of a lighter hue.

There are many other comments suggested by Gen. Cox's letter, but, having already extended this article to an unusual length, we close by expressing the hope that the discussion he invites will serve to promote the cause of Universal Suffrage.—Jeffersonian Democrat, Chardon, Ohio.

It was unnecessary to call Gen. Cox out as his Oberlin friends did; but it was more than unneces-sary for him to publish his theory before he placed it in their bands, where it might have slept, and

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given us no trouble. It is not right for a candidate to thus burden his friends; and they cannot help feeling it keenly. He must not complain if it chills their ardor and quenches the enthusiasm with which the election might have been carried in the strong anti-slavery, which are also the strong Union disng of excuses for your candidate; and the ect of carrying through the campaign, with gies for him and ourselves, for voting for him,

anything but pleasant to contemplate. But we have more than this to try our endurance We—the radical Union men—believe in free suf-frage, and are pledged to act for it. But here is our candidate announcing himself in opposition to it, except in a modified form that makes it any thing but free. Our votes for him are therefore hing but free. Our votes for him are therefore iable to be counted against our principles. The authority of our leading candidate—whatever his authority of our leading candidate—whatever his motives, or fairness, or impartiality may be—will be quoted against free suffrage by all who incline to the pro-slavery side. Already the entire conservative interest has rallied around this new theory of his. At first they were silent, and scarcely dared to oppose free suffrage, leaving the friends of that idea to promote it in their own way. But here is a scheme that sewes their nursees; and whother it scheme that serves their own way. But here is a scheme that serves their purpose; and whether it succeeds or fails, it will stand in the way of a just and faithful discharge of our duty to the unhappy colored race. At best it is only the old system of coloriest control of the coloriest colo evived,-a system that stood so long in the way of Emancipation. It will ease the consciences of all who rather prefer not to do the negriputice, while it will nurture and cherish the fiendis prejudice against the negro, on which slavery builds all its excuses, and is our standing disgrace before God and man. It will stand in the way of the progress to which we are pledged as a nation preventing, as far as its effects extend, the full work

But to the plan itself: its author betrays his ow But to the plan itself: its author betrays his own doubt of its practicability by showing how it might work, in a contingency which he imagines. As to its justice, we trust he will never assert that. By quotations from history, and the known antagonism between the negro and his oppressors, and a supposed incompatibility of the races, he attempts to prove a necessity for giving the negro his rights in a modified degree, instead of fully, as they were promised him when we asked him to help us in this war. The tyrant's plea of necessity is the argument upon which this theory rests; and this argument is supported by mis-read history, and the ment is supported by mis-read history, and the known purpose of every unjust man in the nation to deprive the negro of his rights. Justice demands that the negro should have his rights "to life, liberty, pursuit of happiness," where he was born God placed him. We promised him that, in the Emancipation Proclamation; he has four for it, and assisted us in our battles. Shall we, cause the wicked and unjust object, and threaten to wrong him, tell him that we will not stand by him ll he surrenders his birthright, and agrees to som Itopian experiment of ours, in which he may los

Then, however speciously Gen. Cox may have gilded his project with the philosophy of history, and dazzled himself with the false light he has and dazzled himself with the false light he has elicited, it is only a duty to tell him that the men of this "benighted region" see it very differently; and while they may give him their votes as the Union nominee, they utterly repudiate his plan of negro colonization, and solemnly protest against their votes for him being counted as evidence of any lack of confidence with them in the doctrine that the consent of the governed gives to the government its just power over them; and that the fact that a man has been oppressed, and that others design to oppress him, is only the stronger reason why he should have a voice in saving how he should be

Were Gen. Cox a candidate for Congress in thi district, he would have found a call for a new co-vention staring him in the face before this time and whatever personal respect the people might rield him, he would not get their votes. The right to his opinion and the free expression thereof is un questioned, and will always be freely yielded by this issue and the necessity of protesting against a false position have been forced upon us. We must false position have been forced upon us. We must make this protest, or reject the candidate. All things considered, we prefer to do the former. When our County and District conventions meet, the people, by their delegates, will be very apt to express themselves on this subject so as not to be misunderstood, and in a manner that will show Mr. Cox that he could not represent serious the best of the content of Cox that he could not represent us in the Legisla ture; while we think it doubtful if he could so rep

resent any County in the Congressional District.

The General tells us that he treats this subject is anti-slavery man. Could be see himself in this new position, we think the vision might not flatter him. Could be see a regiment of Copperheads gloating over his letter with the malignant delight affords them; every man that "bates a nigger" on; every fellow of the base rising in admiration; every fellow of the baser sort, who stands ready to mob the blacks because they are defenceless, hailing it as something just into h hand; while fossilized conservatism exclain

"O, wise and learned judge!

How much older art thou than thy looks!"

and every interest, except the anti-slavery, cluste ing around his plan—be would surely doubt his anti-slavery sentiment, or fear that it had forsaken him. He should remember that great wrongs are not to be conquered by performing small ones in their stead. The rebellion was not put down by yielding to secession; and the spirit of Slavery is not to be driven from among us by yielding to the prejudice against the blacks, and oppressing them till they take shelter in the surrender of their God-given rights.—Ashtabula Sentinel.

Gen. Jacob D. Cox, Union candidate for Gove nor of Chio, was lately asked, by a most respecta-ble committee of citizens of Oberlin, to answer these important questions:

1. "Are you in favor of modifying our Constitu-2. "In the re-organization of the Southern States should the Elective Franchise be secured to the Col-ored People?"

To these questions, Gen. Cox returns a decider negative, in a long and not very courteous letter. Were this a partisan journal, it would probably follow the course usually prescribed to the class, and keep silence with regard to any utterances of representative men of its party which it canno approve; but, being in nature as well as name The Independent, we deem it incumbent on us to re

Independent, we deem it incumbed view Gen. Cox's essential positions. The first of these which demands attention set forth by him as follows:

"You, judging from this distance, say, 'Deliver the on, judging from this distance, say, 'Deliver in illions of freed people into the hands of the oppressors, now embittered by their defea ey will make their condition worse than before tring from the same principles, and after fou of close and thoughtful observation of the race where they are, say I am unwillingly forced to the conviction that the effect of the war has not beer conviction that the effect of the war has not been simply to 'embitter' their relations, but to develop a rooted antagonism, which makes their permanent fusion in one political community an absolute impossibility. The sole difference between us, then, is in the degree of hostility we find existing between the races, and its probable permanence. You assume that the extension of the Right of Suffrage to the blacks, leaving them intermixed with the whites, will cure all the trouble. I believe that it would rather be like the decisions in that outer darkness of which Milton

"Chaos umpire sits, And by decision more en

Gen. Cox's assumption of superior facilities forming a correct judgment is unfounded. The citizens of Oberlin are quite as well acquainted with the negro character as he is. For more than twenty years their village has been a refuge from the slave-hunter, and their honored seminary has proffered all its advantages to seekers of learning and knowledge, regardless of color. Those citizens have, therefore, been constantly familiar with ne groes in their lowest and rudest estate—that of "field hands" just escaped from bitter bondage re fortunate class who have enough enjoyed the blessings of freedom to have developed an earnest desire to supplement then developed an earnest desire to supplement then with those of education. If whites must necessarily evince, in greater or less degree, "hostility" to free blacks, Oberlin must be quite as well aware of ks, Oberlin must be quite as well aware ous fact as Gen. Cox. If his judgment the premises is of more worth than hers, it so by reason of his exalted wisdom, not of his pe-culiar experience, nor of his special opportunities Gen. Cox gives his idea a fuller expression in the

"The antagonism of which I have spoken is not entirely one-sided. On the part of the former master, it takes the form of an indomitable pride, which uterly refuses to entertain the idea of political or social equality, mingled with a hatred intensified by the circumstances and results of the war. This feeling is not confined to the slave-owners alone, but the poor whites share it fully, and often show it more passion-

whites share it fully, and often show it more passionately.

"On the part of the freedmen, it is manifested in an utter distrust of the dominant race, and an enmity which, although made by circumstances more passive and less openly manifested, is as real and implacable as the other. They have the mutual attractions of race among themselves, and repulsions of the whites as another people, developed in a degree which surprised me. It is not as individuals of a nation common to us all that they speak of themselves, but, to use the language of one of them, speaking to myself, they feel that they "have long been an oppressed and down-trodden people."

Is this fair? Is it true? Did Gen. Cox, while traversing the South in Sherman's grand march, find the blacks always or usually evincing "distrust of the dominant race"? Of the dominant caste, of the dominant race doubtless, he did—and for the same reason that the Israelites, led through the Red Sea by Moses, naturally evinced a "distrust" of the Egyptians. But Cart Cay and his follow-addiers were of "the dom-Gen. Cox and his fellow-soldiers were of "the dom-inant race:" did the negroes of the South general-ly evince "distrust" and "enmity" toward them? He knows right well that they did not. Then why his juggling confusion of the very natural distrust of their enslavers, felt by persons just released by war from life-long, bitter bondage, with distrust of, and enmity for, the "race" to which they belonged—of their liberators as well as their taskmas-

Then consider his abuse of the fact that the exslaves spoke of themselves as a distinct "people."
When and where have these poor victims been allowed to regard or speak of themselves as a portion of our people? Give them half a chance to constitute the people of the speak of themselves as a portion. The present generation must pass off the state before the latter can have for anything like fig. selves Americans before you use to their disadvantage the fact so dexterously manipulated

And here let us pause to protest against the undisguised heathenism of Gen. Cox's talk of race "hatred" and "repulsion," which he so oracularly pronounces "implacable." Who feels this hatred? teach that God has made us of one blood? That we are redeemed by a common Savior? and des-tined, if saved at all, to spend an eternity in one common heaven? Has Gen. Cox ever pondered

for four millions of blacks, supposing them ready to be "peaceably" colonized? And right well do be "peaceably" colonized? you know that they will never be "peaceably" ex-pelled from the land fertilized by their sweat, their the basis of impartial justice.

the basis of impartial justice.

thalf so many, not diffused over a tithe of the territory; the exiled Huguenots of France were but a handful in comparison; what did the expulsion of these cost? How did it affect the countries they And what does history say of those who ex-

realization is utterly impracticable. even of Florida, could not be bought out save at an normous cost; and that State could not readily shelter and subsist half our blacks. And how can this already heavily taxed country be induced to tax herself doubly to defray the cost of this stupenlous transplantation of four millions of people ere they are needed and useful, to new distant homes, adapted not to their needs wishes, but to a supposed exigency of Gen. Cox?
The scheme is a sheer, transparent delusion.
We close with a word of warning for all those

who are contriving new fetters and new brands for the negro, without consulting the negro himself, or

"So long as the negro remains a slave, he may be kept in a condition not far removed from that of the brutes; but, with his liberty, he cannot but acquire a degree of instruction which will enable him to appre-ciate his misfortunes, and to discern a remedy lor them. Moreover, there exists a singular principle of relative justice, which is firmly implanted in the human heart. Men are much more forcibly struck by

GENERAL Cox's LETTER. We have read the letter from General Cox with profound regret. It is a mistake in principle and in policy. This, we are persuaded, the General will live to see. The idea of colonizing our people, whether in another land or in this land, is, we would have the General Johnson will give due consideration to its wise sugunderstand, a product of slavery. Nobody proposes to colonize any other class. It is because we have class; it is because the dominant races have for es been unjustly disposing of our destinies, that h a thing is talked of. Who proposes to send eign land, or to set off several States for them in this country? Nobody; and why? Simply because they have not been chattels,-have centuries been subject to masters. They have been in the habit of disposing of their own destiny; of deciding for themselves where they would live, and pursue their own happiness. This is the reason. They have had no masters to decide this for them. no masters; as, from necessity, we fall into the rela-ions of other races and other citizens, we expect to be left with others, and, like others, to decide where we will cast our lot, and prosecute our enjoyment. This, we maintain, is our purchased right; for with our blood we have bought it. And a concession of this two-fold right makes every thing easy. The whole difficulty, as we conceive, of re-construction springs from an unwillingness to carry out den cratic principles. This causes the tug of war.

simply democratic, gentlemen, and all is easy.

In our next, we will show that the General's plan drives him on to the very rock he seeks to escape.

— Cincinnati Colored Citizen.

before us a private letter from an original and con-stant Unionist of this State, which gives a most dis-Holden's organ, calls upon the Union men to stand firm in opposition to what is called negro suffrage."

He then adds as follows:

"Suffrage is the only thing that will give the Union men the control. Leave the matter as it is, and the secessionists are just as much in power as though the South had gained her independence. 1 life. From the prospect, there is no chance for any but a secessionist; and I would rather go through with four years more of war than submit to their rule. Three-fourths of the civil appointments made are of the secession class. The police appointed are two-thirds disloyal; and many of the magis-

Governor was very objectionable, because he had done more for the disunion party than any other

North Carolina is looked upon as being unworthy any office from the fact that he was a Buffalo, as mands as are in their opinions deserving appoint they term it. The officers of these police use this

argument.

This is a kind of loyalty I cannot understand. 1 don't know what to make out of such management as we have here in North Carolina by the civil aurities."-Boston Transcript.

The Biberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1865.

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOUTH.

The intelligence from every part of the conqu though still rebelliously disposed South is daily of a most harrowing nature, in relation to the murderous trocities perpetrated upon the defenceless and unoffending freedmen by those who formerly held absolute ominion over them, or by the degraded and brutal "poor whites," who are themselves the victims that hellish slave system which, though happily no longer in legal operation, still curses that section of the country with its merciless spirit. These atrocities excite in us no surprise; they only confirm what we have a thousand times asserted as to the barbarous condition of the South, and her infernalized state of mind towards the negro race. We look for their repetition on a still more extended scale for some time to come, in spite of the best efforts of the Government to prevent their recurrence. But, while we shudde to contemplate them, and most deeply sympathize with the poor sufferers, we are comforted in the assurance that such revelations of barbarity and insubordination will help to consolidate the loyal sentiment of the country in opposition to any relaxation of the strong arm of the General Government in that section; and also to the admission of any one of the revolted States into the Union for an indefinite period. "Forewarned, forearmed." In the nature of things,

stage before the latter can hope for anything like fair dealing or kind treatment. There is no self-recovery in such a case. The brain is too much diseased, the blood too much poisoned, to admit of a cure. Every effort must be made, and on the broadest scale of lil erality, on the part of the North, to bring under edu-Does Gen. Cox? We do not, and never did. Why should we? "Have we not all one Father? Has without regard to complexional distinctions. Of not one God created us?" Does not our Bible course, this will be madly, and in many instances fecourse, this will be madly, and in many instances ferociously opposed by all that is left of the old slave oligarchy; but the safety and repose of the nation cannot be found in any other direction, and it must be persisted in, at all hazards, under the strong arm of that awful, searching question—" If a man love not his brother, whom he has seen, how can he love God, whom he has not seen?" In behalf of our schools is recognized and approved in every Southern faith and our humanity, we protest against his harsh, pagan, stony-hearted philosophy. It is a shame to Christianity that its author should call himself a sublime mission of the people of the North to return needed in the settlement of this question. It is the Gen. Cox proposes "a peaceable separation of the races." In what essential does this differ from the "peaceable secession" inaugurated by Ruffin and Jeff. Davis? That was entirely "peaceable," so long as no one saw fit to resist it: so will this be. But how are you to make room within our. contemptuously in return. What they desire is the general welfare, irrespective of geographical boundaries; but that can be secured only by making the in stitutions of both North and South homogeneous,

"An Old Georgian" writes a letter from Savannah to the New York Commercial Advertiser, in which I declares that, as soon as the soldiers are withdrawn from that region, all Union white men will have to them? Has Gen. Cox thought of these leave, or be subjected to the cruel control of the worst of rebels. His opinion is that three-fourths of the It is a sufficient objection to any project that its people there are honestly desirous of accepting quiet-The whites, ly the changed state of affairs, and abiding faithfully by it. The other fourth part, made up of men who inaugurated the rebellion, are sullen and dissatisfied and only wait for a good opportunity to try their

" Could you only sit with me one hour under oaks in front of the Pulaski Ilouse," says the writer, you would not deem this opinion harsh. You would hear the chivalry of the South revelling in curses and abuses of everything and everybody, whining because, in losing the negro, they think they have lost their all. They sit here, these gallant scions of chivdeeming his consent of any moment, which we extract from the philosophic speculations of the calm and sagacious De Tocqueville: ble and worthless fellows that they are." they not held in check by the military power." concludes the correspondent, "two hundred men of the above named class would ride rough shod over the citizens of Savannah.

RECONSTRUCTION. The cogent and elaborate Letter to the President of the United States on the quesferent classes. One can understand Slavery; but how allow severul millions of citizens to exist under a load of portion of this page, was prepared by a Committee eternal infamy and hereditary wretchedness?". appointed at a large meeting of merchants and others, Will not the thoughtful consider ?-New York held at the rooms of the Board of Trade in Boston. Its main purpose is to request a sufficient delay in a final settlement of the mode of Reconstruction, until the country. North and South, is better prepared than gestions and patriotic appeals; but, wherein he may e found wanting, we shall confidently look to the next Congress to be impregnable as Gibraltar against making any concessions, on the application of any late rebel State for admission into the Union, which shall the Germans, or the Irish, or Swedes to some for- leave the loyal black population helplessly deprived of the elective franchise.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, for September, is full of ineresting reading, and, as usual, graphic illustrations. following is the table of contents :- 1. September. 2. A Trip to Bodie Bluff and the Dead Sea of the West. 3. Love in a Hospital. 4. Miss Pink's And now, as we have in the good providence of God, and by the proclamations of the martyred President, ceased to be a subject class; as we henceforth have 8. Anæsthesia. 9. The Pond House. 10. Milfort. First Season. 5. Niagara in Spring. 6. Sketches of Social Life in China. 7. Tom Mallory's Revenge. 11. Armadale, by Wilkie Collins. 12. The Helms nan. 13. Street Education. 14. Margaret Bronson 15. Hannah Fanthorn's Sweet-Heart. 16. Our Mutual Friend, by Charles Dickens. 17. Recollection of an Old Fogy. 18. Monthly Record of Events 19. Editor's Easy Chair and Drawer.

This Monthly is edited with remarkable tact and ability, always furnishing a large amount of instructive and entertaining reading at a very cheap rate. For sale by A. Williams & Co., 100 Washingto Street, Boston.

CHILDREN'S PROGRESSIVE LYCEUM. Bela Marsh 14 Bromfield street, has just published in a neat li-DIRECT FROM NORTH CAROLINA. We have the volume, "The Children's Progressive Lyceuma Manual, with directions for the organization and management of Sunday Schools, adapted to the bodie couraging view. The writer proceeds to say that in the approaching convention "the rebels will have the majority; that they have got the control of Holden." "The North Carolina Standard, Gov.

FINE PICTURE. Childs & Jenks have been a pointed the agents in this city of Powell & Co.'s pho tograph of President Lincoln, Vice-President Hamil and the Senators and Representatives who voted am a candidate for the convention, and if elected I "Aye" on the Constitutional Amendment prohibit ntend to introduce negro suffrage if it costs me my ing slavery. The features are given with most re markable accuracy and truthfulness, and are easily recognized. It is a splendid specimen of photogra phy, and has a historic significance which makes it very valuable picture.

OFFICERS OF COLORED REGIMENTS. Under de The appointment of W. W. Holden as Provisional Department of South Carolina, issues an order re-questing the commanding officers of the 54th and 55th Massachusetts, and 26th, 32d and 102d United States man in the State.

A man who went in the United States army from Colored Troops, about to be mustered out, to nominarth Carolina is looked upon as being unworthy nate to his headquarters such officers of their companies. ments in other colored regiments. No assuran be given in regard to the appointment of those re commended to a higher grade than that of Se officers are requested.

RECONSTRUCTION.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIR-The Rebellion forced upon the loyal States long war, costly in blood and treasure. The military conflict has ended, and we all rejoice at its termination. Most of the States which were rebels are held in military possession. We shall rejoice when this also terminates. You have repeatedly expressed and distinctly indicated a strong desire to relax and remove your military grasp of those States. With this desire we have the fullest sympathy. The sooner peace, with all its relations and with all its blessings, can be established, the sooner will every part of this great country be active in promoting its own prosperiy, and the prosperity of every other part of the

you do, that peace itself will be only an illusion and a mischief, and not that peace over which we may all rejoice, if it be precipitated to the neglect of those terms and conditions which the safety and security of the whole country demand, and which it is there. fore equally the right and the duty of the whole country to insist upon. The questions presented by the present attitude of

the States which rebelled against the nation are numerous, and have many aspects. We have no doubt that they, and whatever may be suggested to you in relation to them, will receive from you due consideration. We ask now to offer to you some views upon the safety, the prosperity and the good faith of the whole country.

The National Constitution gave to the white men of those States votes for three-fifths of the slaves. It was there, a compact: the free States admitted its binding force, and would never have interfered with the exercise of this right in those States had they not voluntarily renounced by rebellion this and all their constitutional rights. But we cannot think it would be either just or prudent to restore to them now those three-fifths, and at the same time make them a present of the other two fifths. All reasons founded upon the principles of free and equal republican institutions are against this; and, instead of a necessity for doing it, the whole country appears to us to be under that necessity which a due regard to our safety and security creates, not to do it." We have made the slaves freemen, free citizens of

the United States. They must therefore all, at the tives, be counted among those whose number measures the right of national representation. It might be ask ed. Would it be right,-we ask now only would it be safe,-to permit all the votes of these colored men to be east, but to require that all their votes should be cast for them by the white men living by their side? There would be injustice, and we think there would be insecurity, in saying to one hundred men of any of the loyal States, You shall cast one hundred votes; but a hundred men in one of the disloyal States shall cast two hundred votes, because there live among them a hundred men of a different color. The hun dred men in that State will cast, it is true, but one hundred votes; but it is equally true that they will be two hundred votes in their influence and power, or that those hundred voters will, through their representation in Congress, exert the same influence over the national legislation or the national policy as the two hundred voters who reside in the other States. For example, let us compare some of the Southern

States which come somewhat near them in population on the basis of the last census. If we take the whole population of each State as the number which measares the right of representation, and suppose that the white men alone of the Southern States cast the votes of the States, a brief calculation will show that every hundred of the white inhabitants of South Carolina will have as much power through their repre sentatives as two hundred and forty of the people of Iowa; one hundred white men in Mississippi will equal two hundred and twenty-three men in Wiscon. sin; one hundred white men in Louisiana will equal one hundred and ninety-eight in Maine; one hundred white men in Alabama will equal one hundred and eighty-three in Connecticut; and one hundred white men in Alabama and Louisiana together will equa one hundred and eighty-nine in Indiana. It is there fore apparent that if, as the Constitution requires, the colord men of the South are all counted in to measure the right of representation, and are then all disfranchised, this must operate a proportional disfranchise-ment of the people of the North and West. How people of Iowa?

tion to the whole number of the white population in fact that in them colored persons who do not vote are enumerated to determine the number of representatives; but in none of them is their number sufficient make a material difference-probably not enough men of the South than of the colored men in the

class whom alone we should permit to vote, and to whom we also give the votes of the other class, have morseless determination, broken only by utter defeat, a war which had for its single object escape from that Union which they hated. And we are now asked by from that class whose lovalty is certain, who will vote by its inspiration on the great national questions ofered to them, and especially as to the great burden of our debt, which they can never forget was the price of their freedom. And we are asked not merely to con-think, and very few who would say, the colored race fine the privilege of voting to the disloyal class, but are such by nature that they should be permanently to invest them with the votes of the disfranchised; disfranchised. We hear and read only that they are and thus to double the political strength of that class now wholly unfit for the right to suffrage; and we so lately in fierce rebellion, and which cannot be expected, if human nature is with them what it is everywhere, to be now, or very soon, animated by a love of what improvement can be hoped for, when the whole our common country; and especially, in regard to our power of legislation, and the whole power of detergreat debt, must be expected to feel it, not as a burden only, but a burden a thousand fold heavier because to the master-class, and is given to them on the condiit was incurred for their defeat; and therefore, it must tion that they retain this supremacy only so long as be feared, will be disposed to assail it through all the they can prevent all preparation and all improvement years that it may rest upon us; to assail the debt, the Distant, very distant will that generation be which taxation necessary to sustain it, and so the credit, and sees the race enfranchised, if we leave them dis-

good faith, and prosperity of the country.

It would be a strange thing if we had not the right to be more just than to do so great a wrong, and more is it not plain that the nation cannot do so great a vise than to expose the country to such dangers. Was it wrong in the Government to abolish slavery? and is it wrong now in you to insist upon its abolido so. But what right can any one imagine, excepting that which arose from our military power, coupled with our necessity, or a due regard to our security? was, or was thought to be, fortified by interest. Now The right thus founded was and is a perfect right.

And the Government has, and you, as its military and expediency, are all united. We have said, by that trious self-support. But, as the correspondence in nones and an opportunity to commence an nones. executive head, have an equally perfect right, resting right, Slavery shall be no more, and it is no more. on precisely the same foundations, and of precisely th same extent, to require and to insist that political rights in those States shall not be determined by race. rights in those States shall not be determined by race How can we say instead, Slavery shall not die, but quire such a provision

did they hear and answer. No man doubts that the army of colored men was useful to us; although we may not say as the defeated rebels say-it was that which turned the scale, and made their defeat inevitable. If we ask what does justice now demand for the race which rendered us this valuable assistance, the answer certainly would not be, that we should use the victory which they helped us to win to cast them helpless and powerless by disfranchisement into the hands of those who were the enemies of the Union, and whom the assistance they have rendered to us has made their enemies. But if this be the answer of justice, that of expe-

diency is quite as certain. There are conflicts of peace as well as conflicts of war. In the conflicts which threaten us, we shall need their bailots quite as much as we needed their bullets in the conflicts of war. The questions are curiously similar. We felt that we needed-we waited until we were compelled to feel that we needed-their assistance in the war, before we accepted it; but when we accepted it, victory came with it: certainly with it, whether because of it or not. Again we need their aid. If we permit, in the conflicts that await us, the assistance they will gladly give us, it will certainly add greatly to the safety and the strength of our country. If we reject it. we can do so only by a wrong, of which the retribution must be to lessen our strength and increase our danger, and, may be, to defeat and destroy those interests upon which the prosperity and the good faith of the country are founded; to defeat and destroy those interests, because we see fit to take from th loval the force which of right belongs to them, and give it all to the disloyal, to increase their strength. Nor let it be said that we cannot be sure that the

rights by the whites. For, in the first place, it is cer tain that they will not all be so led. Men, whether from ambition or patriotism, will be candidates on the side of the national honor and the national interests. and will seek the votes of colored men; and Slavery is not there to prevent the use of sufficient means for equainting the voters with the true nature of the questions before them. If white men control the votes of colored men, then, if the whites are divided, the colored men will be divided; and, if the whites vote all together, they will be no stronger if all the colored men vote with them. On large plantations the relations of employer and employed may operate, to some extent, to give to the owner some undue control of the laborers. So it has been said that our large mill-own. ers, and others employing many workmen, held them in political bondage. If this mischief existed in any places, or to any extent, it has certainly been greatly exaggerated in some minds, but he who thought the worst of it never imagined that he found in it a reason for disfranchising any class of our laboring men. The white men of the South know better than we can, whether, if the colored men vote, white men can control their votes; and if they really believe that they shall effectually control them, their determined opposition to freedman suffrage indicates an indifference to their own power, and a willingness to lose what would be an instrument in their hands, which is,

o say the least, very remarkable. We have had and exercised a perfect right to mancipate the slaves, growing out of our necessity : but this gave us no right whatever to emancipate them for our own security and to their danger, for our own benefit and perhaps to their destruction. And who can deny that a new danger, and an appalling one, hangs over that race, if, on the one hand, we tak from them all the protection and defence they found in Slavery, while it made it the interest of their owners to take care of them, and on the other take from them by disfranchisement all power of self-protection and self-defence? Already we see, and by no means dimly, in the measures adopted or proposed in some of those States, while still held in strict military ossession, what kind of legislation over and against the colored race must be expected when the nation has abandoned all power to annul or check it, and has given no power to that race to resist it. Can this be honest, or prudent, or safe ? Can we endure the disgrace of calling on that race to go with our own loval soldiers to peril and to death, and, after they have fought our battles, leave them utterly disfranchised?

ercial intercourse may be fully established between the South and the North, and, as connected with this, and necessary to it, free and kindly social and personal intercourse. All must remember how these things pared than they now can be, to have and to exerci have stood for many years. Liberty of speech was long can it be believed that this inequality will be wholly lost. Whoever went from a free State to a on does it rest? If Slave State, went in peril of his life; a it be that the colored race of the South are all wholly true, to be easily guarded against by one to whom it It may, however, be said, when we remember it disfranchised because wholly unfit for the right of suf- was easy to conceal his thoughts or falsify them; or frage, is it also true that the white voters of South by one whose opinions and feelings could be molded arolina are about two and a half times better fitted by his interests, and who, coming from a home of to exercise this right wisely and patriotically than the freedom, could act and speak as a lover of Slavery. and so purchase his safety, and with it the contempt In the above estimate, it has been assumed that the of the better class among them who tolerated himnumber of white voters bears about the same proporthe Northern man, there was no freedom of speech, all the States. The results above stated would be or of the press, or of the courts. All this, it may be somewhat affected in some of the Free States by the said, was caused by Slavery, and Slavery is gone. But if Slavery has left behind it vast class-dis tinctions; if to the master-class is left the whole nower of legislating to preserve and deepen these distinctions; to the same class which will possess the to offset the larger proportionate loss of the white power of molding society and all its feelings and usages into that form which shall give the utmost possible force and permanence to these distinctions and The class from whom we should withhold the right | the political supremacy they confer, -is it not certain to cast their votes are enthusiastically loyal; and the that what has been will return again? that the abvas between the thought and feeling of the Free States and of the Slave States, which no man could pass maintained with marvellous unanimity, and with re- over, will still be open and kept open? Is it not cer tain that both social and commercial intercourse will be hampered and obstructed? Is it not sad, that when enough of treasure and of blood have been cast this last class to withhold all political right and power into this abyss to close it, and this country has but to say this day, let it be closed, and it will be closed, there can be danger that we may say. No, let it still

be open, still be the barrier that it has been ? We suppose there are in the Free States few who must wait until they are better prepared, and then receive it. But we would ask them what preparation mining the relations between these classes, is given franchised! And, viewing the question in its most general form,

wrong without exposing itself to an equal penalty? Slavery was protected by the Constitution: we endured it, and we had much excuse for enduring it : Certainly, unless we had and have a right to we could reach it only by breaking down the law; and the reverence for law in our country is as just and salutary as it is powerful; and in this instance it We have but to say in the same right, Slavery shall r color, if the safety and security of the country re-shall only change its skin, and live on with all its ers with the opportunity again to yield to their uire such a provision. do, although it may not always be possible to see how do the work of slavery? How can we say this and have passed through a present case we can. We do this in utter antagonism to commit incomplete the most expedient. In the present case we can. We do, although it may not always be possible to see now do the work of slavery! How can we say this and it is expedient. In the present case we can. We have passed through a war marked by the most dead-American institutions, and to that settled opinion and ly conflicts of history. We needed absolutely, and we feeling which has been gradually growing for generation, it has become needful that we take measure at last yielded to the necessity of asking, military and at last yielded to the necessity of asking, military aid from the colored race; and when we asked it, gladly Rebellion? How can we say this and do this, and not much trust in them.—c. K. W.

be sure that we leave to our children abid astrous conflicts and probable convulsion But, while we think that the importance question is inexpressible, we admit that its diffi

are great. They are so, mainly, for two reason unpreparedness of the population of the rela either to resume their old rights, or to exerrights, safely for themselves or for the present, and certainly not without patient an nsiderations as to what restrict upon those rights are requisite and other reason is the unpreparedness of the to decide at once, and finally, this great which has sprung upon us by the sud the Rebellion. Public opinion is rapidly It is beginning to see that the true question i er, in such a country as this, political right of dependent on race or color. Men are to themselves on one side or other of this question. think, however, that the people cannot now be man not merely to decide this general question, but he clearly the details and consequer any determination of it. The inference we done the certain and absolute necessity of delay, of page the certain and audicient delay, before the country on calin, and sufficient delay, before the country on to such practical conclusions as will take from the to such practical concessions as will been the the whole country all power to retrace its steps or then its errors; for when those States are relability in all their constitutional rights, their can be note: ther interference with their internal concerns. Se rights remain unimpaired, just what they were, fact, although not what some thought they were, fore the Rebellion. Those States do not now possess and exercis

those rights. You have, most properly in the judy ment of all men, appointed Provisional Gor colored voters will not be led in the exercise of their ment of all their, appointed a state has any right at all, it to elect its own Governor. You have prescribed who shall vote at the election of a Convention, and have interfered in important particulars with the right of suffrage. You did all this because you had the pose o do it, and because the safety and security of th ountry required you to do it, and gare you a per fect right to do it. We do not see how it can h doubted that you have both the power and the righ to interfere further, and on the same grounds, vig the same right of suffrage, either by restriction or enlargement. Let us compare the possible harm with the proba

le good of delay, and even, should it be necessary, me what protracted delay. The authorities rout provided, and who will act under your constant or eight, will do nothing to obstruct or retard the return ing prosperity of those States. All their judica and municipal institutions may be reorganized to made operative. Let time do its beneficial work, and your power be exerted, if need be, to prevent regu ons or practices certainly wrongful, and all the cha nels of trade will be opened and filled, the new rel tions between the inhabitants of those States, vi the new rights they give and the new duties they in pose, will be understood and acknowledged. Lab will be encouraged, compensated and made product of-and will be seen to be productive of-benefit to employer and employed. Where war has passe along, leaving behind it destruction, the repower of peace will cover the traces of desolation and the wounds of war, if they do not wholly her will at least ache less. If you now permit those Sta to resume the full exercise of all their former rights and give up those rights to white men, you give the to men accustomed not to labor, but to deto men whose contempt and dislike of that part of the ountry which had not their peculiar institutions has been exasperated to intensity by a fierce and destructive war, ending with total defeat. Let time be any ed them to become less passionate in their arets to begin, at least, to forget an irrecoverable past; be reconciled to the inevitable; to acknowledge as understand, and make the best use of circumsta which cannot be changed. And the colored nee vil in the mean time, have learned practically that the freedom given them is the freedom of voluntary a support. Education, which many of them seek gree ily; and habits of care for themselves, and for the for whom they are bound to care; the possession property by some: the possibility and the hope of se-It is to be hoped that commercial relations and comquiring it with more : all these, and other causes, raise them far above their present condition. A thus the honoficial influence of delay will make classes of the inhabitants of those States better pr all political rights, with advantage to themselves, a with safety to the country. We have no desire and we have no thought of, vengeance or put past, that those States, if dealt with so mildly, lave

no right to complain. You have taken the ground that those States have now either no constitutions, or none which the cont try can recognize; and you require them to bring to you new constitutions. We cannot, for a moment suppose that the new constitutions they will offer w be regarded by you as going at once into force their own power and efficacy, if only they are repa lican, as judged by the standard of any State that not enter into rebellion; for then they might inclu by the example of Kentucky and Delaware, et Slavery. It would seem to be certain that they m first be passed upon, adjudicated, and approved. it would seem equally certain, that, whatever be tribunal which judges of them, if they do not cont the provisions, and all the provisions, which the sal and security of the whole country require, they m be rejected, and the States retained within milital

possession until such constitutions are presented. Over the loyal States the country has no pos nd no right, and no desire to exercise any pos-Over the rebel States we have both power and rig our duty must be commensurate with our power right; and both must be measured by the req ents of the best interests of the country. An offering these views for your consideration, we leave to express our confidence in your judgment

your firmness, and your fidelity to duty. JOHN B. ALLEY, NATH'L THAYER. R. H. DANA, jr., J. M. FORBES, PELEG W. CHANDLER, HENRY A. RICE, WILLARD PHILLIP S. FROTHINGHAM, jr., LANE, LAMPSON & C THEOPHILUS PARSONS, JARED SPARES, EMORY WASHBURNE, SAMUEL G. WARD, CHARLES G. LORING, nd 200 others.

TRUST.

A writer in the Daily Advertiser, co acts brought out in the excellent Southers Co pondence of that paper, tells us that-" The Sou people, not only the freedmen, but those who seek cently their masters, are our brethren and reighbo and we ought truly to trust them as such. writer in question proceeds to refer to the cond the Good Samaritan as giving us an appropria

example for the present case.

No doubt these people are our "brethre "neighbors." So are the convicts discharged for our jails, and our State Prison. Both Chris and worldly wisdom call upon us to extend # pathy and material aid to both these classes. even to trust them both; to the extent of giving the an opportunity to commence an honest life l Advertiser would hardly carry his trust in one latter class to the extent of asking him to ta ney, so we may well hesitate to trust the ex-slave tomed temptation; to commit their "besetting black and white, that, for their sakes as well as

X.

, this great question the sudden collapse of on is rapidly ripening. true question is, wheth. , political rights should or. Men are ranging r of this question. We e cannot now be ready, eral question, but to see uences which belong to e inference we draw is sity of delay, of patient, fore the country comes as will take from the trace its steps or amend States are rehabilitated otates are renaminated ats, their can be no fur-ternal concerns. State ust what they were, in thought they were, be-

w possess and exercise t properly in the judg-ovisional Governors for s any right at all, it is ou have prescribed who Convention, and have ulars with the right of suse you had the power ety and security of the t, and gave you a perhe power and the right he same grounds, with ther by restriction or by harm with the proba-

hould it be necessary, a The authorities you have der your constant overuct or retard the returntes. All their judicial ay be reorganized and its beneficial work, and ed be, to prevent regulaongful, and all the chan-and filled, the new relas of those States, with the new duties they imacknowledged. Labor ted and made productive roductive of-benefit to Where war has passed ruction, the renovating e traces of desolation now permit those States all their former rights, ite men, you give them or, but to despise labor ; slike of that part of the eculiar institutions have by a fierce and destruceat. Let time be grant-onate in their aversion irrecoverable past; to e; to acknowledge and st use of circumstances and the colored race will, ed practically that the edom of voluntary self. any of them seek greedcare ; the possession o lity and the hope of ac-

to have and to exerc age to themselves, and We have no desire for, then we remember th It with so mildly, have that those States have r none which the coun-equire them to bring to cannot, for a moment, if only they are repubnen they might include, and Delaware, even certain that they mus ed, and approved. And , that, whatever be the , if they do not contain visions, which the safety atry require, they mus ions are presented. country has no power to exercise any power both power and right ate with our power and asured by the requ the country. And, in consideration, we beg nce in your judgme

e, and other causes, will

resent condition. And

of delay will make all

y to duty. OHN B. ALLEY, H. DANA, jr., ENRY A. RICE, TILLARD PHILLIPS, ANE, LAMPSON & ARED SPARES, AMUEL G. WARD, ser, commenting on the

that-" The Souther but those who were t rethren and neighbors them as such. refer to the conduct of ng us an appropriate rvicts discharged from on. Both Christianity on us to extend symthese classes. We are extent of giving the honest life by indu

e correspondent of the his trust in one of the king him to take can rhile he went on a jour trust the ex-slavehold to yield to their accust their "besetting sin-of self-government to ercising this right the this of their neighbo r sakes as well as our twe take measures for al welfare, without too

COLORED SOLDIERS NO LONGER WANTED TO GUARD REBELS.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON-The papers tell us that. in deference to the tender feelings of rebels in Richnond, the colored troops are to be removed. Intimaions from Charleston are to the same effect. The ecompanying extracts from recent letters of Sargeant Charles W. Lenox, of the Massachusetts 54th, help neonfirm that impression, besides imparting other facts interesting to Liberator readers, which, though facts interesting to Location readers, which, though not anticipated by the author, I yield to the temptaion of asking you to copy. Boston, Oct. 11, 1865.

CHARLESTON, (S. C.) July 20, 1865. Two years ago to day, (the 18th inst.) since the charge at Wagner. Late Sargeant Frank Welch, of the Mith, is officer of the day in this famed city. He rides his horse, and sports his sash and lieutenant's niform! Where is the Southern heart? Is it fired? What would Calhoun say if it were possible that he gold come out of his grave, and walk up King street, and meet a colored man and regimental officer, and and meet a streets patrolled by colored soldiers, and Massachusetts ones at that! All the result of his pet docine, secession. Have we not some retaliation for our misfortune at Wagner?

Peter Voglesang, of New York, is now Lieutenant nd acting Quartermaster of the regiment. He is and acting the lightly esteemed by all. He has always been a kind and intimate friend of mine; but, in conformity to military custom, we shall not probably be so much together. It makes no difference to him personally;

orgether. It is not some some modestly.

I think some one must have enlarged the part I hare taken in being color-bearer. I only tried to keep up the reputation of old Massachusetts.

Our regiment is now scattered about-only two

panies in the citadel. The Zouaves that were here created an ill-feeling between some of the citizens and our regiment : there are been street riots frequently. The Charleston Courier lays it all to the colored soldiers. They seem determined to keep it up until they get us ordered away. A colored voter or a colored soldier is a horrible eight to a South Carolinian.

A MILITARY OPINION OF NEGRO SUF-FRAGE.

Proceedings of a meeting of the officers of the 1st S. C. Artillery, (heavy,) that met pursuant to the journment of a meeting held on the evening of July 1865, at which Lieut. Col. J. E. McGowan was called to the chair, and Capt. T. H. B. Correll was appointed Secretary. After which, on motion of Captain J. B. Charles, a Committee, to consist of the Chair and five other officers, was appointed to draft solutions expressive of the views of the officers relative to the proper status and legal rights of the freedmen of the South, to wit : Lieut.-Col. J. E. McGow-Majors James W. Johnson and O. M. Gross, Captains J. B. Charles, Ed. F. Brown and W. R. Story, which Committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were unanimously

Whereas, The statesmen of the country are endeav-Whereas, The statesmen of the country are endeav-cing to determine the status of the freedmen of the South; and whereas, the question of Negro Suffrage is likely to inflict on the country unnecessary and mischievous agitation, which will be seized upon as a hobby, whereon unprincipled political demagogues may ride into place and power; and whereas, we the officers of this regiment have had an experience in dealing with the freed slave, extending over our whole military career: therefore.

dealing with the freed stave, extending over our whole military career; therefore,

Resolved, 1. That we are of the opinion that the men under our command, and the colored freedmen as a mass, are as well qualified to wield the elective franchise understandingly, and with safety to the Govmment, as a large majority of the white men in the te so-called Southern Confederacy. 2. We believe it to be the height of cowardly mean-

ss to ask a man to risk his life in sustaining a Gov

ness to ask a man to risk his life in sustaining a Goverment that refuses him citizenship.

3. We believe it to be a well-established principle,
that governments derive their just powers from the
consent of the governed, and that no man can be
hightfully called upon to sustain a law, or be held
smeanble to its penalties, when he is denied all share
is making the law. naking the law.

We believe it would be highly dangerous to deny

4. We believe it would be nightly dangerous to deny to any loyal citizen of the South a voice at the ballot-box, as such a course will inevitably throw the con-trol of the State Government into the hands of parties who, though lately conquered, are savagely opposed to the United States Government, and are as bitterly disloyal as they were three years ago. After the adoption of the resolution, remarks were

made by several of the officers, which met with unthis action to embroil them in the squabbles of political parties, but simply to give expression to views formed and entertained under circumstances that entitled them to some weight with the public.

All with one voice deprecated any discussion upon my matter of mere party politics. They viewed the subject from a higher stand-point, and had only their country to serve in this as they had faithfully endeavored to serve her in assisting to put down the Slaveholders' Rebellion. They believed it to be the interest of the South to extend the right of suffrage to the freedmen, to the end that their labor be not lost to the South, as, in their opinion, men who had carried a musket in defence of a Government will acquire, if they have not already, too much spirit to live in any portion of that Government, the local laws of which deny them the rights that are accorded to the leanest and most malignant rebels and oppressors of their race, provided they have subscribed an oath promising they will not again blacken their souls with

They were not disposed to overstep the bounds of strictest military discipline, and criticise the policy the Government they have been fighting to maintain, but they believe the interests of that Government would best be in thoroughly loyal hands; and they had no faith in the theory that the black man, were he enfranchised, would be a supple tool in the hands of the Rebellion. Their experience was, that the blacks, when slaves, knew their friends, and that they were not likely to forget to whom they owe their new privileges; and that if occasional abuses grow out of their enfranchisement in consequence of their ignorance, the census would show that such abuses were much more likely to occur with the lately disbanded men of the rebei army, when actual facts existing in every Provo-Marshal's office in the South show that not one in five of them can either read or write. After the remarks, on motion of Capt. Ed. F. Brown,

it was ordered by the meeting that copies of these pro ceedings he sent to at least one loyal paper in each of the Northern and Southern leading cities. No further business being before the meeting, on

motion of Major Gross, it adjourned sine die. Lieut.-Col. McGOWAN, Chairman.

T. H. R. CARRELL, Capt. 1st U. S. C. Art., Sec'y. Greenville, Tenn., July 6, 1865.

BEWARE OF HIM!-We would caution the public against giving any aid to a colored man, now in this cinity, calling himself John Johnson, and pretendig to have been the body-servant of Gen. Robert E. ee, of Virginia, for the last six years. We and others have given him pecuniary assistance, supposing im to be destitute and unable to find employment; but we have sufficient proof to satisfy us that he is utterly devoid of honesty and veracity, and that he is getting money under false pretences. He is apparent y about 28 years old, 5 feet 7 inches in height, slim person, of a mulatto color, and very fluent in eech. If any other persons have been imposed upon by him, we should like to be apprised of the fact. We hope other papers will publish this caution.

Gov. Andrew President of Antioch College appears to be authoritatively announced that the Trustees of Antioch College in Ohio have invited Governor Andrew to become the President of that astitution, and that he will probably accept the appointment. We know not how to spare him.

THE CONVENTION AT NASHVILLE.

THE CONVENTION AT NASHVILLE.

On Thursday, the 10th instant, a Convention was in session in Nashville, Tenn., representing the freedmen of that State. It was composed of one hundred and four delegates, seventy of whom were in slavery, and released by the war; twenty had purchased their freedom, and the rest were born free. Mr. Walker, a colored barber of Nashville, presided. The facts in regard to such gatherings, the spirit displayed, and the temper of the delegates are all matters of importance to the people of the Union. The black race is not to be judged by the field hands of the rice or cotton plantations, but fairly by those who have acquired some intelligent idea of their position, in spite of disabilities, and who are fitted to guide the masses to a higher plain. The general characteristics of the Convention were, according to a correspondent of the Chicago Tribune:

"Earnestness of purpose, a clear comprehension of what they were after, a desire to do fairly all that was needed to advance that object. All clearly understood what freedom involved; the tenor of every speech and all argument was education, morality and industry. Underlying all, but only occasionally cropping out, was a ferce determination not to submit to any backward measures, not to be trampled on again; to allow no partial bondage to be inaugurated without resistance."

The convention is said to have compared favorably The convention is said to have compared favorably with any similar body of working men. One noticeable feature was the presence of some of the most well-known and aristocratic names in Tennessee. About one-third were mixed blood, and the remainder clear black. Many outrages were reported from East Tennessee, and the immediate presence of a competent authority is to be ordered in that section. Gea. Fiske addressed the convention in a speech which, though radical to the core, was yet tempered with practical wisdom and good sense. The proceedings were well directed; a State central and auxiliary county comittee were organized, who, in addition to county committee were organized, who, in addition to other duties, are to gather all facts in relation to the other duties, are to gather all facts in relation to the condition of the people for publication—facts that show how much land is cultivated by negroes, how many are attending school, how many own property, &c. The address to the colored people of the State, by Mr. T. J. White, is a temperate document, and displays a knowledge of the situation and its requirements certainly as good as any which we have seen from other sources, white or black. We call attention to that part which touches on the immediate practical duty of the laborers:

"We must not understand that our newly acquired freedom gives us the privilege to roam about the country as common idlers and rowdies, without any fixed habitation or apparent means of support, committing depredations, or using insulting language to any one. But freedom means, in the opinion of this Convention, that we work earnestly for honest support, so that our families be respectably cared for; that our children may be properly educated, by which means they may be useful members to any society in which they may live and move. We must exercise forbearance, and endure as far as practicable the many petty differences between us and the whites or between ourselves. It is our duty to eradicate past differences from our memories, and commence the work of harmonizing; and to accomplish this end we must combine all our efforts. There is a great 'gulf between us and the whites, almost as great in dimensions as the one said to have existed between Lazarus and Dives. Neither politicians nor Congresmen can bridge this chasm. Nor is it in the power of any living man, saving ourselves by our own exertion. On the one side we see arrayed the Anglo-Saxon with his learning and capital. On the other the blacks with their labor; and for the development of the resources of this or any other country, capital and labor are mutually beneficial. Hence we claim that the races are dependent upon each other." "We must not understand that our newly acquired

The use of such language, and the evident understanding of its import, would carry conviction to most candid minds that the black man is not unworthy of the highest favor that is claimed for him.—Boston

COLORED CONVENTION. A Convention of colored men, from all parts of the State, has just closed its sittings here, after being in session four or five days. The main subject of discussion was the best mode to be adopted in securing to the negro the privilege of the elective franchise. Some forcible and telling speeches were made, and resolutions adopted, looking to the agitation of the subject among white and black, until their object was accomplished. While listening to the carnest and eloquent language of some of the speakers, and looking at the large number dressed in army blue, an impartial observer could hardly fail to pity or condemn the prejudice of any man, professing to be loyal, who would extend the ballot to returned rebels, and deny it to those before him because of the color of their skin. A Bohemian, whose associations and antecedents were strictly "democratic," after hearing one of the colored orators, in a gush of enthu-COLORED CONVENTION. A Convention of colored hearing one of the colored orators, in a gush of enthusiasm, and after trying hard to recall sor mosthenes as his compeer, gave it up, and conceded that the sable brother before him was far ahead of anything he ever heard. Gen. Fisk made a telling and sensible speech, earnestly encouraging the prac-tice of industry, and steady application after knowl-edge. These he considered first in order, and politiedge. These he considered first in order, and pen-cal suffrage was sure to follow. The next session of the Legislature will be compelled to take some action in the premises.—Nashville Corr. of Tribune.

FREEDMEN'S AID ASSOCIATION. The meeting of that Association, on Tuesday right, was one of the most interesting ever held since the Association has been organized. It will be remembered that, on the 18th of June last, a young woman, belonging to the proscribed race, fell accidentally into the Mississippi, and was only rescued by the efforts of a generous citizen, of the name of W. McDowell, who periled his life to save that of the unfortunate girl. This noble action was a striking contrast with the death of Joe Hamilton, who was thrown overboard and drowned, last winter, by a white brute, nearly at

The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans made inquiries to discover the noble rescuer of the young woman, and after some delay, Mr. W. McDowell was found, all the facts were ascertained, and a medal was voted to that philanthropist. It was on Tuesday last that the medal was delivered, in a public assembly of the Association. The medal is of gold, of the size of a silver Mexican dollar, and bears the of the size of a silver Mexican dollar, and bears the following inscriptions:—on one side, "The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans to Wm. McDowell: "and on the other, "Token of admiration, for his noble conduct in saving the life of a colored woman in June, 1895." The medal was presented to Mr. McDowell by Hon. Th. J. Durant, who made a brief and very appropriate speech, which deeply moved the whole assembly. This token of admiration—though well earned—

This token of admiration—though well earned-was entirely unexpected by the perpetrator of the noble deed—showing that the day of justice is dawn-ing, and that nobility of heart, courage, and devotion to humanity, are not entirely unappreciated in our so long slaveholding community.

Another matter of interest was brought before the Another matter of interest was brought before the Association; we mean the Colored Lincoln Monument. We shall give, at an early day, the history of that move, which originated with a "poor negro woman," of the name of Charlotte Scott, living in Marietta, Ohio; but which is, in fact, the common expression of the gratitude of a whole race. We publish to day, on the other page, under the heading of "Freedmen's Memorial," the call of the Western Sanitary Commission on healt of said Monument Sanitary Commission, on behalf of said Monume The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orlea passed, on that subject, the following resolutions, of fered by Hon. Th. J. Durant:

"Resolved, That this Association cherishes with the

The Association received also a very interesting letter, communicating the result of an experiment of free labor, made on the principle of associating the haborers with the planter, for a fourth of the net proceeds of the crop. The letter, which was ordered to be printed, will be found on the other page. We are not surprised at the results mentioned in the letter; we believe human nature to be everywhere one and the same. We therefore expect to find in the freedmen, when permitted to use their free will and their liberty, the same common sense and the same application to remunerative work that may be observed in any other race or people.—New Orleans Tribune.

AN EXPERIMENT OF FREE LABOR.

IBERVILLE PARISH, La., Aug. 1, 1865. To the Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans:
GENTLEMEN—I am a planter of twelve years' exercise.
This year I am working twelve hands, six

ing good common sense; they are honest and true to their tamily. Besides the crop in common, they have raised for their private account small crops of corn and vegetables. They have poultry, etc. of their own. Not a single difficulty has occurred among them since they have agreed to work on my farm.

I remain, gentlemen, respectfully yours,

SCENE IN A FREEDMAN'S COURT. SCENE IN A FREEDMAN'S COURT.

We find the following narration in the Nashville correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette, showing that it is very difficult for the white men of Tennessee to learn that colored men have rights which they are bound to respect, and that they are receiving lessons from courts of justice established by Gen. Fiek, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, of a very emphatic description. The one quoted occurred but the other day, and is both amusing and instructive:

"An old and highly respected citizen of Giles coun "An old and highly respected citizen of cines country, named Abernethy—a good Methodist, by the way—refused to pay his colored laborers the wages he had agreed to pay them, and, as a last resort, two of the most intelligent of his employés came into the Freedmen's Court, made out to the contract and to the fact of non-payment, and an order was accordingly the fact of non-payment, and an order was accordingly issued to bring the venerable patriarch into court to answer. When the order reached the old gentleman he was astonished beyond measure, and, doubtless, would not have deigned to respond to it had not a guard been present to enforce it. His neighbors, of course, were greatly excited. The venerable old Abernethy arrested, and ordered to report forthwith at Nashville! Dispatches were sent to the city, and when he arrived he was met at the depot and escorted to Gen. Fisk's headquarters by a respectable body of old citizens, whose woe-begone countenances indicated the deep diagust and horror which swelled their chivalrous bosoms. Arrived at headquarters:

Abernethy—Is this General Fisk?

Gen. F.—Yes, sir.

A.—I should like to know what I am brought here for?

Gen.-Very well, give me your name, and I can

probably inform you.

A.—My name is Abernethy, sir.

Gen.—Abernethy. Yes, I remember. Two citizens of Giles county, neighbors of yours, Mr. A., have appeared and made oath to a very grave complaint against you.

A.—Citizens of Giles county! Neighbors of mine!!

A.—Citizens of Giles county! Neighbors of filme: Good heavens, who can it be!!!

'I will read the declaration, said the General, as he took the document from a pigeon hole, and began: Joseph and Paul Abernethy, of the county of Giles, in the State of Tennessee, being duly sworn, do teatify, etc., etc. As the reading proceeded, the old gentleman's eyes fairly bulged out, and he looked the very picture of smaxpurgent. At length, unable to retleman's eyes fairly bulged out, and he looked the very picture of amazement. At length, unable to restrain himself any longer, he exclaimed, 'Lor' bless my soul, General, them arn't my neighbors, them's my niggers!' You are mistaken, Mr. A.,' replied the General, 'there are no such persons in Tennessee now as "your niggers." Joseph and Paul Abernethy are citizens of Tennessee, and one of them claims even a nearer relation to you; and the striking

This home thrust cut the old man to the heart, and This home thrust cut the old man to the heart, and he covered his face with his hands, bowing his head for some time. At length he said: "Well, General, what are you going to do about it?" 'I am going to do justice, he replied. 'Do you owe these men the amount they claim? If you do, you must pay it.'

The old gentleman came down at once, acknowledged the debt, and promised to call and settle it the next day. The next day he came, paid the debt in full, and entered into a written contract with his employée for the future." ployes for the future.'

AWFUL STATE OF AFFAIRS IN ALABAMA.

MOBILE, July 31, 1865.

MESSES. EDITORS—The colored people in Clark county are treated shamefully. Men are hanged for saying that they are free, and tied hog-fashion, and thrown over in the river and drowned. Women are shut up in chicken-coops, and thrown in the river. All these things are done, and no person to protect them. There is not a federal soldier in twenty miles them. There is not a federal soldier in twenty miles of the place. One Mr. Odom is the principal actor in of the place. One Mr. Odom is the principal actor in perpetrating these outrages. A woman that was put in the chicken-coop by this Mr. Odom was in a family way. These things are done near Sugarsville, Clark county. They have hung, within the last three weeks, three women and three men. The Yankees are so much interested about cotton that they let Mr. Reb. or much interested about cotton that they let Mr. Reb. treat the negro as he pleases. Also at Greenville, Alabama, on Cleveland's plantation, the colored people are treated in the like manner. Many of the planter boast that if their negroes attempt to leave them, they will tie them up, and give them a thousand lashes. Where is the Burean of Freedmen's Labor that was established to protect them in the interior, as well as in large cities? Have they been liberated by the Proclamation to be neglected? No; I am satisfied that a great deal could be done for the poor freedmen by the Union forces, if the officers in command would attend to their affairs. The plantation laborers are no better off to-day than they were when slaves. Where will we find justice? The Yankees have not force the properties of the properties. After leaving Clark County, Alabama, near Sugarsville, I found a colored woman lying dead, weltering in her own blood, and a suckling babe crawling.

garsville, I found a colored woman lying dead, wel-tering in her own blood, and a suckling babe crawling over her, who seemed to be looking for its mother's breast. We found, a little further down the road, one agenerous citizen, of the name of W. McDowell, who periled his life to save that of the unfortunate girl. This noble action was a striking contrast with the death of Joe Hamilton, who was thrown overboard and drowned, last winter, by a white brute, nearly at the same spot.

The Freedmen's Aid Association of New Orleans made inquiries to discover the noble rescuer of the

was too small for a man to live on; therefore, in order to obtain more, the negroes must be banished, so that they could get high wages.

The colored men are treated in the above mentioned manner all over this State. They are even driven off of plantations twenty-five miles from the river, without anything to transport their baggage on; and women men and a large number of children are prewomen, men, and a large number of children are prevented from getting on the boats, even when having money to pay their way.—Corr. N. O. Tribune.

HORRIBLE CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN IN ALA-BAMA. The Chicago Tribune publishes a letter writ-ten by one of the teachers of the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission, at Mobile, which makes th following startling statements. They are alm horrible for belief:

" A meeting was held here last night, before which "A meeting was held here last night, before which statements were made as to the treatment of colored by white people in the interior of the State, which would make you sick of life. One hundred and thirty-three dead bodies were counted in the woods, five bodies were seen foating in the river; two white men were seen to pull a negro down across a log, and cut his head off with an axe. Women and children were killed, and then boxed up and thrown into the river. A woman was killed by a white man, and burial refused by him to her relatives. For a black man to be seen with greenbacks in his possession is death. Colored people are hiding in the woods, living on berries, fruit, &c., to escape the fury of their former masters. These statements were made by intelligent, candid colored men, before an audience of several hundred, last night.

last night.

In Mobile, through the connivance of somebody, "Resolved, That this Association cherishes with the deepest veneration the memory of Abraham Lincoln, the martyr President; who gave the death-blow to the cruel system of human slavery in our country.

"Resolved, That as a just expression of love and affection to this illustrious man, the lamented victim of the slaveholders' conspiracy, we cordially recommend to the freed people of Louisiana to subscribe to the monument to be erected to him by the citizens of African descent, at the National Capital, Washington

army are looked upon with contempt.

The Wilmington Herold says that upon pledges of respect for the United States authorities, the National troops were withdrawn from Fayetteville, but the result has been of speedy development. The National authorities finding themselves deceived, have found it necessary to garrison Fayetteville again with negro troops.

The Wilmington (N. C.) Herald, of the 10th, says GENTLEMEN—I am a planter of twelve years' experience. This year I am working twelve hands, six men and six women; my laborers are to get one fourth of the net proceeds of the crops. They have a full understanding of their interest in the said crops. Our contract was made on the 1st of February last, and the result so far is a complete success; we have to-day 85 arpents of cotton; 25 arpents of sugar canes; 75 arpents of corn, all in perfect condition. I don't mention the vegetable-crops.

Under the old system ten arpents to the hand was considered a fair result, and more than three-fourths of the plantartions failed to come to that standard.

My labores are all good people, behaving well, hav-

"Of Chivington's Sand Creek massacre he gave us "Of Chivington's Sand Creek massacre he gave us many interesting details, and he is of the opinion that it was the most cold-blooded, revelting, diabolical atrocity ever conceived by man or devil. The sworn accounts of witnesses of the affair, are enough to make any man blush for his species. It was an indiscriminate, wholesale murder of men, women and chidren, accompanied by the disfigurement of dead bodies of both sexes, in every revolting and sickening form and manner.

of both sexes, in every revolting and sickening form and manner.

The United States were disgraced by acts of flendish barbarity, so revolting in their details that a truthful account cannot be published in a respectable journal, without giving offence to decency. And all these atrocities were committed on a band of Indians who had voluntarily entrusted themselves to the protection of the Government, received assurances of care, and who had flying above their encampment, at that time, a white flag and the national baner, given by the military authorities of Fort Lyon, with the promise that this was to be to them security and guardianship as long as they remained under it and continued friendly.

These Indians were under the leadership of 'Black Kettle,' a chief whose friendship for the whites had

These Indians were under the leadership of 'Black Kettle,' a chief whose friendship for the whites had been proverbial for years. He had been in the employ of our Government as a scout; had been engaged by Lieut. Col. Tappan of the 1st Colorado, to keep a watch upon the Sioux and other hostile tribes; had only a few days before prevented, by giving timely information, an intended raid; and he brought the men, women and children of his tribe together, to live near the fort, and under the care of the whites. His trust was repaid by indiscriminate massacre: his friendship was repaid by indiscriminate massacre; his friendship was rewarded by outrage on the living and disfigurement of the dead; his confidence requited by betrayal, by rapine, by murder, so sickening in its forms that it passes all understanding to imagine how any one, be he either man or devil, could have executed it."

GEN. SCHENCK ON THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY. I speech at Chillicothe, Ohio, on the 16th inst., Gen chenck is reported to have said:

a speech at chamicotic, o'mo, on the four tisse, tien. Schenck is reported to have said:

"Only ten days ago, in a full and free interview with him, the President said he regarded the local Governments set up in the rebellious States as temporary experiments, simply to give the people an opportunity to show whether they will develop the right spirit and policy necessary for a full restoration to their proper position under the Government. While regarding them as experiments, he intends that the military power of the Government shall hold them in check, so that if they be found straying back into rebellious ways, the military will be there to prevent them from again making the trouble they have heretofore caused.

The President, in this conversation, referred to the course that had just been pursued in reference to the Richmond election, where the citizens manifested their rebellious spirit by electing to office the very men who had recently been in arms against the Government. It was with his sanction that the military authorities had set aside that election, and he gave this as an example of what might be expected in other cases of a similar kind."

POMPOUS VIRGINIANS SNUBBED BY THE PRESI relates the following incident:

"A number of citizens of Richmond have bee here for several days, with the object of calling on the President as a delegation in behalf of themselves and others concerning pardons. Yesterday the self-constituted delegation went up to the White House, and, stituted delegation went up to the White House, and, after the President had concluded the business then before him, was addressed by him in a friendly way, with the inquiry where they were from. A member of the delegation in a pompous tone replied, "We are proud to say that we are from the city of Richmond." The President remarked that he did not see any occasion for pride in that fact, and turning his back, devoted his attention to other matters. Thus ended the interview."

HORACE GREELEY. A friend of Mr. Greeley lately addressed him a letter, inquiring if there was any truth in the report that he was about to leave the Tribune. The reply is very characteristic. We quote:

"We elect an editor of the Tribune annually by a "We elect an editor of the Tribune annually by a stock vote (one hundred shares, one vote each). Once, many years ago, two votes were cast against me for editor—none before nor since. I have never heard that any stockholders desired my withdrawail from the Tribune. I mean to reduce my work on it at the earliest moment, and have so stated to all who have a right to know. I am overwhelmed with labor. I grow old, and want rest and comfort. My idea is to get somebody else to take the laboring oar, receive the kicks and cuffs, and let me farm a little, fish some, and write when in the spirit. Such is my dream. I hope to realize at least a part of it during the year 1866; but I may not till some time later. You know how circumstances control everything. At present I how circumstances control everything. At present I am writing about an average of two columns per day for the Tribune—too much; I mean to write less whenever I can. That's all I know about the matter. Perhaps they know more at the Herald office. Vol. II. (of the 'History of the Great American Conflict'), I grieve to say does not go no so fast as it should. I grieve to say, does not go on so fast as it should have too much other work, a very sick wife, and am not very well myself, and the weather is good for corn and turnips, but bad for history."

FREEDMEN COMING NORTH. The telegraph reports the arrival at New York of a party of colored people from the South, en route for Rhode Island. It appears that they came from Washington, and were sent by request of the Providence Freedmen's Bureau. The party, says the Ecening Post, consisted of thirty-two persons, and comprised whole families, though few of the children are very young. Nearly all of the party were men and women not more than twenty-five or thirty years of age, and children of ten to fifteen years. They were all bright looking, and more intelligent than the masses of their race, and have been selected from the large number of freed more intelligent than the masses of their race, and have been selected from the large number of freed people now congregated in and around Washington for the places they are to fill. The women in the party are to be domestics; and the men are to have work as coachmen, gardeners, farm hands, &c. The children will have suitable places. Another party—the first that was organized—went to Rhode Island a few days ago. It numbered fifty persons, and all are employed and doing well. Other parties are to follow, if work shall be secured, and the negroes are contented and successful.

Lee's Application for Pardon. A Richmon letter to the Baltimore American says:

"You will see a good deal of nonsense originating in a Southern paper about General Lee's reasons for applying for a pardon. It is all stuff. General Lee's application for a pardon was drawn off and submitted to his friends in this city two months before he left for the country. It is a very long document, over eighteen pages of foolscap. General Lee made his application for pardon on his own account, and not on account of others, and without any reluctance—at least none expressed to his friends. General Lee is not the man to excuse any act of his by pretending that it is done for presect to his by pretending that it is done for the benefit of others. By the by, speaking of him re-minds me that he does not intend to return to this city to reside. The house on Franklin street, where he lived, is now occupied by a Hebrew family."

FAILURE TO RAISE THE CABLE. The cable parted Wednesday, 2d inst., in 1950 fathoms of water. They grappled it three different times, and raised 1200, 900 and 600 fathoms respectively. Each time the grappling broke, but on no account broke the cable in grappling. The Great Eastern has gone for more and better year.

etter gear. Mr. Varley writes very encouragingly. He says he Mr. Variey writes very encouragingly. He says he found no difficulty in grappling the cable whatever, even in the greatest depth, and that probably as soon as proper tackle is prepared, he will grapple the cable one hundred miles east of the break, where the water is only fifteen hundred fathons deep. The buoy has rode the gales well, being fastened by pieces of condenned cable.

Mr. Canning, Chief Engineer, Capt. Anderson, Mr. Gooch, Director of the Telegraph Construction Company, and Messrs. Varley. De Sauty, Thompson and Clifford, electricians, unite in expressing the opinion that the Great Eastern can carry and lay an Atlantic telegraph cable in any weather; that the present cable is the best manufactured; and that with better machinery and stronger tackle, there is a possibility of recovering the lost end of the cable

John Bright. Messrs. Tilton & Co., of Boston, having sent to John Bright a volume of sermons on the death of Abraham Lincoln and a report of the Conspiracy Trials, received from him a letter of thanks, in which he says: "I feel much happier now than I did a year ago, for your great war was a great burden on my spirit. I think all men should feel thankful to God that it is ended, and that the main cause of it is ended with it. Henceforth you are a free people, and a great future is opening to you."

THE LARGEST CITY OF EASEX. Lawrence has at length reached this position, numbering 21,669 inhabitacts, to 21,197 in Salem, and 20,794 in Lynn.

THE CHIVINGTON MASSACRE. The Atchison (Kansas) Champion says Major Gen. Allen McD. Cook, with his personal Aid, Major Bates, and other members of his staff, reached Atchison from the West on the 9th, and among other matters has investigated the "Chivington massacre." A recital of the atrocities said to have been committed is almost too much for belief. The Champion says:

"Of Chivington's Sand Creek massacre he gave us

TEXAS. The Houston Telegraph says the army

TEXAS. The Houston Telegrapa says the army worm is ravaging in the interior.

A planter in Wharton county says the freed negroes in that county are generally doing better than he supposed they would. He has a written agreement with those on his place, and he has no trouble with them whatever.

whatever.

A PREDICTON VERIFIED. It is related of Simon Cameron, that, in talking with Jeff. Davis about secession in 1860, he told Davis that if the Southern States seceded ruin would follow them, slavery be abolished, and he would with his own hands plant corn in the streets of Charleston; that last spring Mr. Cameron planted the corn in Charleston, as he predicted, hired a soldier to attend to it; and has lately received four ears of grain as the product. We remind our friends that Major-Gen. Canby has

We remind our friends that Major-Gen. Canby has said, in his letter to the civil Governor: "The attempt to enforce police law or regulations that discriminate against the negroes by reason of color, will not be permitted." The star car rule has been broken by virtue of these instructions. Colored men have entered the "no star" cars since two or three days, and the drivers have been unable to procure the assistance of the police to help them out. Police officers have no longer any right to interfere in auch cases, and they know it. Let everybody get freely into all the public conveyances.—N. O. Tribune.

The Times' Washington despatch ways that at a re-

The Fimes' Washington despatch says that at a re-cent political meeting in Charles county, Md., a ne-gro, for cheering a speaker who endorsed the Union, was beaten by a large number of citizens, including among them a magistrate named Frederick Dent, Dr. Geo. Mudd, brother of the assassin, and others. Dent, the magistrate, subsequently sent the negro to jail for attempting to defend himself.

A Canada correspondent of the New York Herald says Marble, of the New York World, and one of the proprietors of the Journal of Commerce, are at Montreal, and have already sought interviews with Sanders and Tucker. Very probable. Like seeks like.

"Agate," of the Cincinnati Gazatte, furnishes that paper with a table showing the amount of pay and mileage drawn by Southern Senators during the last session of Congress. The total amount which these gentlemen drew from the Treasury of the Union for a session in which they spent all the time in destroying the Union was \$550,787. Some people would call this robbery—but we cannot think of applying the term to any act of such honorable and "chivalrous" gentlemen.

LOYALTY IN KENTUCKY. The Louisville Journal says that the anti-amendment element in Kentucky is the secession, rebel element. Every rebel in the State voted and electioneered against the amendment. If only loyal citizens had voted, it would have been carried, fifteen or twenty to one, adds the Journal. This opposition to the anti-slavery addition to the national constitution was headed by Garrett Davis.

The Evansville Journal says a host of colored people on the old Kentucky shore, opposite Newberg, agreed among themselves that they would cease to labor for the conservatives, if they did not vote the square out Union Ticket. The morning after the election accordingly the conversation election, accordingly, the conservatives, who boasted of having voted the "unscratched," found themselves without a single son of Ham to look after their grow-ing crop of corn, potatoes and tobacco.

A correspondent, who has travelled through North Carolina, says the worthlessness of the negroes, of whom such complaints are made, consists in the fact that they are not disposed to work for nothing. And their impudence consists in not bowing as low as they once did to those who have always maltreated them.

Discharged soldiers cannot have it too frequently impressed upon them to keep their discharge papers. The brokers and speculators who buy them for a song expect to sell them back at an immense profit when Congress shall have appropriated lands to the use and benefit of volunteers honorably discharged the service.

We regret to learn from the Anglo-African that Misses Ada Howard and Edmonia Lewis, of Boston, had their trunks taken from their boarding-house in Richmond, conveyed to a vacant lot, and rifled of their contents. The young ladies were left without a change. Miss Lewis is the gifted sculptress, whose bust of Col. Shaw did her so much credit. Agents are in Richmond engaging negroes to proceed to Cayuga County, New York, for the purpose of felling timber. They had already secured a large number, agreeing to pay them one dollar a day and their board.

The building on Long Wharf, Newport, R. I., belonging to the Bay State Steamboat Company, and used as a storehouse, was destroyed by fire Monday evening, with about \$70,000 worth of furniture, bedding, &c., belonging to the different boats of the line.

St. Roch, one of the suburbs of Quebec, was visited the 17th inst. by an extensive conflagration, which destroyed between sixty and eighty buildings.

It is said that the President has ordered the pay-ment of \$621,000 to Massachusetts, toward the settle-ment of the total amount due on her war debt, which is expected to be about \$3,000,000.

Arrangements are on foot to erect a monument in Detroit to fallen heroes. The association is formed, and \$250,000 in subscriptions obtained. The corner stone will be laid with great ceremonies. Mr. W. L. G Greene, formerly of the Boston press, has become connected with the Washington Republican. He is a man of perseverance, considerable industry and ability, and is likely to make his mark at the national capital.

COLORED VISITORS AND THE PRESIDENT. The proportion of blacks who visit the Executive Mansion, to see the President on business, is not more than one

in 500, as compared with the whites. Snow fell at the White Mountains, Wednes-Snow fell at the White Mountains, wednes-day, notwithstanding the warm weather hereabouts. At Bradford, Vt., there was a very severe hail storm about noon, and some gardens were about destroyed. The hail stones remained on the ground till 6 o'clock

says the popular subscription of ten centimes for a gold medal for Mrs. Lincoln is still progressing. The number of subscribers already obtained is 26,000, and the committee has made an appeal to raise the number to 100,000.

New Haven, Conn., Aug. 21. William Grimes, better known as "Old Grimes," a quaint darkey, once a slave, known to all our citizens and to thousands of Yale College graduates, died in this city yesterday, at the advanced age probably of ninety years. NEW YORK, 18th. The World says the total loss

by the Ketchum forgeries will amount to four millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. PRESENTATION. Rev. L. A. Grimes, pastor of the 12th Baptist Church, Boston, for the past eighteen years, has been presented with a handsome silver teaservice by the members of his church.

The entire numbers of his church.

The entire number of soldiers who died in the Washington hospitals was 20,722. Of these 15,000 were white, including nearly 7200 natives of this country, 213 from England, 660 from Ireland, 583 from Germany, and 167 from Canada, and about 30 other nationalities in small proportions are represented. The unknown whites number about 6000; unknown blacks 5700. The cemeteries are kept in good condition, and the names of the deceased, as far as known, are inscribed on the headboards of the graves.

are inscribed on the headboards of the graves New York, 18th. The Tribune's Tyler (Texas correspondent describes the infamous rebel prison pen at Camp Ford, near that place, where so many Union prisoners languished through starvation and brutality for two years. The place rivalled that at Ander-

OPPOSITION TO SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN Opposition to Schools for Colored Children. The Times' Washington dispatch says the secessionists here have entered a protest against establishing schools for colored children in the aristocratic locality of Fourth street, assigning, among other reasons, that it will depreciate the value of property!

The School Board of St. Paul, Minnesota, have vothe School Board of St. Paul, Minnesots, have vo-ted to exclude negroes from the schools. There is an existing State law imposing a fine of \$50 on trustees and teachers who refuse them admission, and the friends of the colored people are determined to enforce it. The excitement, consequently, runs high.

Hon. Martin F. Conway, formerly a member of Congress from Kansas, and at present a coursellor at law in Richmond, has taken up his permanent residence at "the slashes," a short distance from Ash land, near Richmond, and the birthplace of the immortal Henry Clay.

Negro Enterprise. The Vicksburg Journal says that nearly 10,000 acres of land have been leased to colored people, in the vicinity of that place the present year, and that most of it is in process of successful cultivation, There are about 250 or 300 of these lessors, most of whom have formed partnerships with Northern men, to procure the means of carrying on their enterprises.

THE NATION.

WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE AND ART, Will be published July 6, 1865.

Its main objects will be-First-The discussion of the topics of the day, and, above

all, of legal, economical and constitutional questions, with greater accuracy and moderation than are now to be found in the daily press.

Second—The maintenance and diffusion of true de principles in society and government, and the advocacy and illustration of whatever in legislation or in manners

seems likely to promote a more equal distribution of the fruits of progress and civilization.

Third—The carnest and persistent consideration of the condition of the laboring classes at the South, as a matter of vital interest to the nation at large, with a view to the removal of all artificial distinctions between them and the rest of the population, and the securing to them,

ne far as education and justice can do it, of an equal chance in the race of life. Fourth—The enforcement and illustration of the doctrine that the whole community has the strongest interest, both moral, political and material, in their elevation, and that there can be no real stability for the republic so long as

they are left in ignorance and degradation.

Fifth—The fixing of public attention upon the political importance of popular education, and the dangers which system like ours runs from the neglect of it in any por-

tion of our territory.

Sixth—The collection and diffusion of trustworthy information as to the condition and prospects of the South-ern States, the openings they offer to capital, the supply and kind of labor which can be obtained in them, and the progress made by the colored population in acquiring the habits and desires of civilized life.

Seventh-Sound and impartial criticism of books and

works of art. THE NATION will not be the organ of any party, sect or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation, by which so

nuch of the political writing of the day is marred.

The criticism of books and works of art will form one of its most prominent features; and pains will be taken to have this task performed in every case by writers posseasing special qualifications for it.

It is intended in the interest of investors, as well as of the public generally, to have questions of trade and finance treated every week by a writer whose position and character will give his articles an exceptional value, and render them a safe and trustworthy guide.

A special correspondent, who has been selected for his work with some care, is about to start in a few days for a journey through the South. His letters will appear every week, and he is charged with the duty of simply reporting what he sees and hears, leaving the public as far as possi-

ble to draw its own inferences.

The following writers, among others, have been secured,

either as regular or occasional contributors : HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, JOHN G. WHITTIER. SAMUEL ELIOT, (Ex-Pres. Trin. College, Hart-Prof. Torrey, (Harvard,) Dr. FRANCIS LIEBER, Prof. CHILD. (Harvard.)

CHARLES E. NORTON, Judge Boxo, (Baltimore,) EDMUND QUINCY, Prof. W. D. WHITNEY, (Yale,) Prof. D. C. GILMAN, (Yale,) Judge DALY, Prof. Dwight, (Columbia College,)

Judge WAYLAND, FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, Rev. Dr. McCLINTOCK, Rev. Dr. Thompson,
Rev. Phillips Brooks, Rev. Dr. Bellows, C. J. STILLE,
HENRY T. TUCKERMAN,

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Poetry.

THE CHAIN OF THE BONDMAN.

Amen! Alleluiah! The conflict is o'er! The chain of the bondman, all recking with gore, Is finally broken ! our country is free ! No longer the black man, with suppliant knee, Shall cronch at the feet of his tyranpous lord, Nor tremblingly start at the sound of his word.

The black sin of serfdom, our nation's high crime, Which videned, and deepened, and darkened with time, No more, like a poisonous mist from the sea, Shall blight the fair fruit of our Liberty Tree.

That blot is erased from our nation's fair scroll, That crime washed away from her penitent soul, By the deep crimson pool on the battle's dread plain, And tears that were shed o'er the innocent slain. That cursed word SLAVERY, which boldly has stood

On our national ensign, deep written in blood With a pen manufactured at Slavery's forge, And ink from the veins of the slave 'neath the scourge. No longer its place on our flag shall maintain, Nor a star in that flag shall it darken again. The chain of the bondman !- Ah, who can disclose

The anguish of soul, the life-blighting woes,
And the blood and the tears that distilled on the turf, While it shackled the body and soul of the serf? Tes mble-skinned victim it chained to the sod.

And true to its work as the steel to the pole, It riveted hell to the slave-dealer's soul. But Slavery, foul Slavery, was destined to fall; We saw "the hand-writing," its doom, on the wall; And welcomed, yet dreaded, the Red Sea of woe,

Forbidding his soul to commune with his God;

Neath the billows of which, for a time, we must go. But the Angel of Liberty lifted his wand, And back rolled the deluge of woe from our land; Our nation, baptized in the blood of the slain, Comes forth from its perils, washed free from its stain

Then hail to the era that dawns o'er the world ! All hail to our banner of freedom unfurled!
All hail to the advent of justice and light!

Amen! Allelujah! The conflict is o'er! The slave-chain is broke, to be welded no more ; The block and the hammer, the whip and the post, In the grave of Secession are buried at last.

Now, high in the journals of heaven above, May the hand of Jehovah, in infinite love. Erase those dark records of bondage and crime And grant us salvation from sin throughout time. -Dover Morning Star

PEACE. BY CALEB DUNN.

The cloud that dimmed the Southern sky Floats, shattered, o'er the nation's head; Its riven mists, dissolving, fly, For Peace is born, and War is dead.

See yonder where the cross of blood Leaned, frowning, 'gainst the gloomy skies, From Sumter's battered walls arise !

No more the cannon's angry speech Is heard to cheer the fierce debate No more the battle's deadly breach Lies yawning by the road of fate.

Through every vale the burden sweeps Of combats ended, peace begun, And up and down our country's steeps The blessed, welcome tidings run.

Bright as a star the peaceful dove Wings her free flight above the scene And hails the full, new birth of love In hearts where hate too long hath been

Give thanks to Him. O land and sea! Breathe ye, O pines! your psalm of praise Chant ye, O waves! triumphantly, Your grandest anthemed chorus raise!

Strike from the country's heart the notes Of jubilee, O rivers wide! And from your gleaming, silvery throats, O swiftest wind ! the tidings bear

To fields of carnage, fields of blood : And on the soft and vibrant air

O ransomed people ! sing the praise Of Him and blem His ballowed name And from your hearts' rejoicing raise

For over Sumter's rents and scars The symbol shines that war shall cease And mid our country's bannered stars Appears the blessed star of Peace. -Gazlay's Pacific Monthly.

LINES.

Written on the occasion of the Funeral of the late Mrs Seward, of Auburn, N. Y. Only a few grief-laden weeks have passed Since through the world that requiem was rung, At which remotest nations stood aghast, For which our own with sable clouds was hung.

The echo of that dirge comes back to-day, And peals around thy tomb, oh loving wife ! While we commit unto its kindred clay This second victim of the assassin's knife.

We little thought what heart that blow would reach Which Heaven ordained its loftier mark should miss Yet there were some who whispered, each to each, With pallid lips, of such a grief as this.

Who knew thee best, knew how, through war's long night Waiting the dawn, thy heart its vigils kept, And how, with love intense and tripartite,

For country, husband, sons, thou watched and wept. I see "sweet Auburn" husbed and dark to-day, (From far, with vision purified and strong.) Dark with the crape-clouds that o'erhang the way

Where that sad pageant slowly winds along. I see St. Peter's walls and turret brown ; I hear the solemn music of her choirs, Her fun'ral bell, that vibrates through the town,

And wakes a sad response from sister spires. I see, Fort Hill ! thy portals open wide, And pouring through, a long and living tide

Rolls onward to you high Necropolis Room for a sister, here! Make room For virtue, goodness, unpretending worth : For ye can spare amid these aisles of gloom—

"Tis all she asks-a little spot of earth. A little spot, beneath these heavens clear. These ancient trees, with overshadowing bough, Where song birds come, such as she asked to hear

When the death-damps were gathering on her brow. Oh God! we bless Thee, even while we grieve,

And tenderly return this dust to dust; Tis but the ruined temple here we leave; The ransom'd spirit walks among the just -N. Y. Times

GOD'S VOICE

'T is not through priests, 't is not through schools, God's voice has reached the ears of men; But oft through children and through fools

His words have roused the world : what then ? Is God a fool through fools to speak? Their stubbern purpose He will break, And thwart the ends of cunning rules.

If, by the prattle of a child God proves that He can speak and hear, nd sinners are from sin beguiled, Shall priests, whose hearts have failed them, snee

The Biberator.

THE SAFEGUARDS OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Extract from a capital Address on "The Safe guards of Personal Liberty," delivered at Concert Hall, Philadelphia, by Hon. William D. Kelley, and shed by the Social, Civil and Statistical Association of Colored People of Pennsylvania:-

Pennsylvania, to bring her Government into mony with these principles, in March 1780, less than four years after the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed the emancipation of her slaves, having previously secured by constitutional provision the right of suffrage to every freedman without regard to

Had all the States of the Union been organized or these principles, there never would have been a day when you could not have written a letter announcing without bringing its recipient into bodily danger, be cause those doctrines would have prevailed in the man had been recognized all over the country, there would have been no war during the last four years, because no man, not even the pardoned rebel, denies that the war was made to perpetuate slavery and se cure the degradation of the laboring masses.

No man will tell you that our newspapers were excluded from Southern mails for any other reaso than that it was feared they would endanger the system of inequality that prevailed and was cherished in the South. It was this that made it dangerous for us to travel there; it was this that fired Pennsylva nia Hall . it was this that mobbed William Lloyd Garrison, and disgraced Boston by disclosing the fact that Leverett Street jail was the only place in that city strong enough for his protection. It was this dectrine of human inequality, this violation of the principles that underlie our government, this want of harmony between our usage and prejudices on the one hand, and the theories which animate our government, and which we all profess to believe, on the other, that disgraced us before the world, and converted what should have been our peaceful life into a restless sea of agitation, in which Constitutional safeguards were abandoned or disregarded.

Let me show you how thoroughly we, in Philadelphia, are governed to-day by a concession we made to the South years ago, in the vain hope of securing peace and prosperity by promoting injustice and in quality; let me show you how completely we allow our prejudices, not natural, but thus engendered, to override the law of Pennsylvania; how some of us who are in this hall join in demanding that the State shall accept our prejudices as its supreme law. There is not, within the wide limits of Pennsylvania, a juris of standing who will risk his professional character by denying that, according to the law of Pennsylvania, every man or woman who is well behaved, and can pay the fare, has a right to ride in our street That is the law of the Commonwealth, as expounded by our courts; no professional man of reputation will dispute it.

We are a liberal people; as I have shown, our most cherished traditions indicate our love of huc freedom and equality. We are a patriotic people we have sent our sons and brothers, we have gone ourselves, to the war. We are a benevolent people; we have fed the soldiers of every State as they passed through our city, going to or returning from the field, and our hospitals have been attended faithfully by women (God bless them !) and by men, doing all they could for the relief of the soldier. We are a grateful people, as is evinced by the fact that we have tendered homes to two generals, and have made provisions for the families of some who have died. And we are a religious people, being most of us what the world calls orthodox, believing that the unconverted soul is punished after death; but, notwithstanding these high qualities, the majority of the people of Philadelphia would rather during the whole war, have seen the colored population so justly indignant, that, instead of the eleven regiments they gave us at camp William Penn, (applause,) they would not have given us a man; would rather see the sick and wounded suffer; would rather be branded by the world as harshly ungrateful to the maimed soldiers of the republic and would rather see the yawning pit of hell swarm with new-born demons, than that the sanctity of our street cars should be profaned by the presence of a colored clergyman hastening to baptize a dying infant, sanctify the last moments of her dying husband or son ! (Applause.) This is the melancholy truth. There is no denying

it; there is no concealing it. There is not a man among us-unless it be one like myself, who has been accustomed to riding in the cars of other cities, where all races ride together-who does not feel something of a prejudice on this subject. If you come to Washington, the capital of your country, you will get used to riding in the cars with God's children of every complexion. I make no arraignment of my native city. I love her. I cherish her for all her virtues. I boast of Philadelphia at all times: but I cannot help seeing her weaknesses. I cannot help seeing that she is immensely hypocritical when she talks about the importance of getting religious instruction to ignorant and dying people, and will allow every white strumpet and thief whose crime furnishes them with the means of paying a fare to ride in a car, and will, as she has so recently done, turn out the colored clergyman and other pious people hastening on the holiest errands of philanthropy and Christianity. (Applause.)

Are we not, in all this traitors to our own can and principles? Are we not giving aid and comfort to our enemies,-those who are not yet willing to ac cept the truths of the Declaration of Independence or be citizens of truly democratic States? I pray you reform it altogether, and secure your own rights by protecting those of the humblest citizen of the Commonwealth. Make him secure, and your own rights can never be infringed.

This is not a mere abstract suggestion. It is the practical question of the day. The governments of the insurgent districts are to be reorganized. When States are organized, they must be districted upon the census of 1860, and they can only be restored to their practical relations to the Union" (to borrow an expression from our late lamented President) by the admission of their representatives into the Co gress of the United States; and the only manner in which you can maintain your right to citizenship and to free travel over the million of square miles of territory, is to see that their governments are organized in harmony with the truth that all men are equal before the law, and those provisions of the Constitution which guarantee the right of citizenship to the citizens of each and every State, and the right of freedom

of speech and of the press. Can we do this? Yes! But you say that President Johnson has called upon the white people only of the insurrectionary districts to reorganize State governments. I grant it; and while I do not on that account doubt his patrior assert that he has made a mistake. I know that I would not have done just so. (Applause.) If the people to whom he has committed the charge have the wisdom and sense to frame truly republican constitutions, they will not only vindicate his wisdom, but gratify his personal wishes, for his democracy i broad enough to embrace mankind. But you asl what would you have done? I would have maintained military government long enough to have come to un the people, and let them understand the new relations to the government, somewhat. I would. at the proper time, have had an enrolment of the peo I would have had the oath admini to the whole people, and in doubtful cases would have taken testimony as to the loyalty of those who tool the oath. When I had ascertained who were loyal, I would either, in accordance with Congressional pro vision to be made in the meanwhile, or in the method which has been adopted by President Johnson,

have called upon the loyal people to elect delegates to a convention to frame a constitution. This would have been in accordance with ancient precedent, so far as precedent exists, for the Fathers recognized every man who fought, and paid taxes, as a citizen.

You can nowhere find in the Constitution anything like a discrimination between white and black. When it was adopted, the colored freeman was a voter in every State in the Union except South Carolina. It is denied that he was such in Virginia and Delaware, where the exercise of suffrage was regulated by legis-lative provision; but their Bill of Rights covered the case, and I have proof, abundant and perfect, that negro suffrage was practised in Delaware. It never was meant by our fathers of the Revolutionary and Constitutional era that freemen should be excluded from the exercise of suffrage by reason of color. I would, therefore, have gone back to Revolutionary times for my precedent; I would have taken the the United States as my guide; and would have allowed all loval men over twenty-one years of age to vote. (Applause.)

You may say that the President has submitted the question to the pardoned rebels. I grant you that he has, and I fear, as I have already said, that in this he has made a mistake; but, if so, it is not necessarily a fatal one. If those gentlemen should be so fa enlightened as to fashion constitutions giving the suffrage to every man, white or colored, who can read, or read and write, I shall take no exception, because any man among them who has any ability can, in one year, learn to read and write. The colored people sit with humility at the feet of any child, or man, or woman, who will teach them. If the whites who have been reared in ignorance, and taught that all labor is disgraceful and education unnecessary, will not learn, let them be excluded with black men who may choose to remain in ignorance.

If the colored citizens do not learn when the op

portunity shall be offered, let them be excluded, but et the law be just, and its restrictions apply equally to all. Men who are ignorant can learn; men who are poor, if we secure their right to acquire land by can and will acquire wealth. Whatever, therefore, be the rule, let it, I repeat, apply equally to all. (Applause.) I would, were the matter submitted to me, give the poor and ignorant the right to vote; the strong, the wise, the wealthy man can take care of himself. It is the poor and the ignorant who need the suffrage to protect themselves.

Again, throw the mass of the poor and ignorant people into the voting population, and the wise, the wealthy, the powerful, will see that they must establish a system of public education; for if they allow ignorance and vice to prevail around them, ignorance and vice may legislate away their rights and proper ty. Thus it is said that the North takes its poor chil dren from the gutters and the purlieus of the city, and educates them; and those who enter our schools in poverty and weakness often leave with minds er lightened and enlarged, and finally go to the grave men of wealth, their names and honorable achievements recorded in history. I would say, give the suffrage all over the country to the poor and the ignorant, and so constrain the wealthy and powerful to look to the

welfare of the poor and the ignorant. And still again, I would, as a purely selfish meas ure, take the poor blacks into our political family. Let me illustrate my meaning. You are sick, bleeding, torn: thieves and robbers have been upon you, as they have been upon our country for four years. You have two persons to choose between. On the one hand, you have a friend-black, poor, ignorant, but who knows there is a God, and who fears his punishments-who instinctively clung to you all the time when the robbers were stripping and assailing youwho, in spite of his poverty and ignorance, has been willing to lay down his life to save yours. On the other hand, you may seek the aid of a man stronger than you are, of greater intelligence and learning acute, powerful, unscrupulous,-fearing neither God, hands of one or the other. Which will you choose I would take the poor and ignorant friend, and would try, with his aid, to keep the powerful enemy off and that is what you must do in the South. (Applause.) You must either take the poor, ignoran masses, who, during the war, have been your friends have fed you in hospitals, have released you from prisons, have piloted you by night through marshe and woods, and have been ready to lay down their lives for you, (enthusiastic cheers,) or you must take Breckinridge and Jefferson Davis as your rulers; for such, by the aid of Northern sympathizers, they will be. For such, as God is my judge, I will never consciously cast a vote in the American Congress that shall favor the admission of a representative from reconstructed State under an oligarchic or aristocratic Constitution. (Great and long-continued applause.)

MR. BARNUM ON MUSEUMS.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., July 29, 1865.

To the Editor of the Nation:
"The Nation" is just the journal our "nation needed, and it delights thousands besides my hum-ble self. But the article on "Museums" in the last number exhibits a little of the slashing style of the London Saturday Review, or else I am blinded by my prejudices or interests.

I am not thin skinned, and I know my Museum

was not so refined or classic or scientifically arranged as the foreign governmental institutions; for mine bad to support my family, while those require annually from the government thousands of pounds. nnually from the government thousands of pounds. That class for which it [my Museum] would seem to have been originally intended" would not support a proper museum pecuniarily. More's the pity—but such is the stern fact. Hence, to make it selfsupporting. I was obliged to popularize it, and while I still held on to the "million of curiosities," millions of persons were only induced to see them belions of persons were only little to the same time, they could see whales, giants, dwarfs, Albinoes, dog shows, et cetera. But it is a great error to state that I ever permitted it is a great error to state that I ever permitted "vulgar sensation dramas." No vulgar word or gesture, and not a profane expression, was ever allowed on my stage. Even in Shakespeare's plays, I unflinehingly and invariably cut out vulgarity and profanity. It is equally incorrect that "respectable citizens did not take their wives and daughters" to see a play on that stage." Your writer doubt-ess supposed he was stating facts, but let him enless supposed he was stating facts, but let him enquire, and he will find that nothing could be further from the truth. I am sensitive on these points, because I was always extremely squeamish in my determination to allow nothing objectionable on my

I permitted no intoxicating liquors in the Museum would not even allow my visitors to "go out to drink," and return again, without paying the second time, and this reconciled them to the "ice which was always profuse and free on each floor of the Museum. I could not personally or by proxy examine into the character of every visitor, but I continually had half a score of detectives dressed in plain clothes, who incontinently turned into the street every person of either sex whose actions indicated loose habits. My interest even depended upon my keeping a good reputation for my Museum, and I did it to a greater degree than one out of ten could attain who had charge of a free museum, or even a free picture gallery. Now, I beg of you to submit the above to the writer of the article in question, and ask him, as an act of justice, to set me right before the public. Humbug with me has had its day, and although I always gave the money's worth of that which was not de-moralizing, I often grieved that the taste of the my "million" nearly twice told, I really aspire of you and your writer in accomplishing it. Listen:

If I build another museum—1st, It will be fireproof; 2d, It will be almost infinitely superior in
its collections and its classifications and accommoation to the old one; 3d, When I build a new American Museum, I shall also erect a large wing, or an additional adjacent building, the contents of which shall form and be a Free National Museum. There I will place classified specimens of natural

vy Departments can lend their trophies, models, etc.; gentlemen can loan their statuary and other 11th and 20th. etc.; gentlemen can loan their statuary and other objects; and myself, my heirs or assigns, shall always exhibit the whole free (I paying expenses by means of rent of stores and out of my own pocket), and whenever we fail to do so, every article not loaned by individuals to the Free Museum is vested ment embraced the famous Rock City Guards, comin the General Government, and may be removed to a suitable building in Central Park or elsewhere. Indeed, if my paging Museum prospers as I expect, myself or heirs will eventually crect and present to the public the land, and a proper building containing these curiosities, which in ten or twenty years will have accumulated to an amazing extent f properly pushed and encouraged. I have tried only about seventy came out of the deadly conflict. They only mustered thirty men when the regiment, make purchases and obtain contributions of duplimake purchases and obtain contributions of duplicates from institutions abroad. He will go next summer; but this summer I want an educated, intelligent gentleman, like the writer of that article returned to their native city. The terrible fatalitelligent gentleman, like the writer of that article on Museums, and will pay him liberally to aid me; for, after all, his tastes, so far as a Free Museum is concerned, exactly coincides with mine. I know Europe pretty well, and for the Free Museum I shall be manfully backed up by the leading officials of our Government at home and abroad, and, with my experience and vim, I can in a single year accomplish more in this line for "The Nation" (I mean the American people) than the sleepy Historical Society could do in half a century. At all events, at the least I can form a magnificent nucleus for a Governmental Free Museum. I owe the youth of this nation a debt of gratitude, and am anxious to pay it, at least partially. I hope that the fire of the late Museum will have fumigated am anxious to pay it, at least partially. I hope that the fire of the late Museum will have fumigated and burned out the humbug from the public mind Churchwell, of East Tennessee. He died at Knoxto such a degree that it can discover that Barnum has got neither horns nor hoofs, and that he has as The same fatality attended this regiment, and but race, especially in this country, as even your excellent writer, "or any other man." I merely hope that this writer will carefully and impartially ponder this hastily written letter, and manfully give me justice. If he will, at the same time, lend me a belping hand in the way of counsel, he will confer much love for refinement and the elevation of the race, especially in this country, as even your excellent writer, "or any other man." I merely hope was in command of helping hand in the way of counsel, he will confer a great favor on myself, which I will endeavor to

transfer for the benefit of my countrymen. In great haste, truly yours,
P. T. BARNUM.

THE NEGROES OF NEW YORK.

The New York Citizen contains a long and elab- Joel A. Battle orate article on the colored population of the me-tropolis, their habits, residences, places of resort, and wealth, from which we extract the following

Among the colored citizens is Mr. Thomas Downing. His long connection with the restaurant business in one spot—at the corner of Wall and Broad street-has given him a reputation which many of Mr. Downing is now about seventy-five years of age, and is worth about fifty thousand dolla

George Downing is the oldest son of Thoma Downing, and is a man of remarkable talents, fine education, and has devoted a great deal of his time to the elevation of his race. His opposition to the school question some years ago in Rhode Island, when an attempt was made to exclude his children from the public school, has given him the reputation

being a representative man.

James McCune Smith, M. D., is the most wealthy colored man in New York city, being worth about \$100,000. He was educated at Glasgow, Scotland, where he received his diploma of M. D. He has brilliant, but always clear and to the point. He has been for six years chief of the editorial staff of the Anglo-African, which position he has filled very ance, has a fine and well developed head, broad and lofty brow, round and full face, firm mouth, and a bright eye. His complexion is nearly Angle-Sax-on. He resides at No. 162 South Third street,

and is of French extraction. When quite young his parents removed to Port au Prince, Hayti, where the Doctor was educated. He came to the United States about the year 1854, and commenced United States about the year 1804, and commenced to practice medicine, meeting with much success. His residence is at 118 Laurens street, and his parlors are very neatly furnished, while his library contains many valuable works. He is worth about

at public waiting, and owns a number of houses in Sullivan street. The interior of his own house is Words fail to describe these dens of disease and

Charles L. Reason has for many years been connected with the educational institutions of New York and Philadelphia. In 1849 he was Professor of mathematics and belles lettres in the Central College at McGrawville. This position he held for a number of years, after which he went to Phila-delphia, and thence came to New York city. His school is at the corner of Broadway and Thirty-Seventh street. He resides at 118 Laurens street. Several portraits of prominent anti-slavery personages adorn the walls of his parlor, among which are noticed Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Susan B. Anthony, Charles Sumner, John A. Andrew, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Theodore He is teaching in the same neighborhood where his steaching in the same neighborhood where his father was brought up, and finds exercisely providing the same neighborhood where his steaching in the same neighborhood where his steaching in the same neighborhood where his same n

His establishment is at 110 Thomson street. cape paintings adorn the walls.

THE REBEL REGIMENTS FROM THE NASH-VILLE DISTRICT.

history, paintings, statuary, armor (especially that worn by historical personages), old weapons of war, musical instruments, costumes and furniture of the middle ages, and a thousand other useful and novel features, which will be an honor to our country. Here, too, will be placed all free contributions of onvelties from everybody, including missionaries, ship-owners, foreign persons of distinction, and foreign museums. The Smithsonian Institution can loan its duplicates, the Patent Office, War and Navy Departments can lend their trophics, models,

anything relating to its fate.

The 11th regiment was in command of Colonel
James E. Raines, formerly Attorney-General of
this judicial circuit. He was promoted before the
battle of Stone River to brigadier-general, and
was killed in the battle of Murfreesboro', while charging the headquarters of General Rose

The 20th regiment was commanded by Colonel oel A. Battle for about a year, when he was appointed State Treasurer under the Harris govern Fishing Creek, and, like the others, there are but very few members left to tell its history. Such has been the fate of the six regin

nfantry raised in the Nashville district cavalry and artillery companies from this district have nearly all passed away. They were handsomely equipped and comprised good metal.—
Nashville (Tenn.) Dispatch.

THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

The New York Post publishes a letter from the ounsel for Capt. Wertz, asking the public to desist from forming an opinion of his client before trial. Immediately following this letter is one from a Georgia planter, who is to appear as a witness it this case. His description of the den of horrors Anderson ville is enough to make the stoutest heart Andersonville is enough to make the stoutest heart 100,000. He was educated at Glasgow, Scotland, there he received his diploma of M. D. He has een a practitioner in the metropolis for about thirry y years. As an orator he is eloquent, and at times rilliant, but always clear and to the point. He as been for six years chief of the editorial staff of he Anglo-African, which position he has filled very exceptably. Dr. Smith is of good personal appearance, has a fine and well developed head, broad and lofty brow, round and full face, firm mouth, and

He says that Winder and Wertz were regularly n. He resides at No. 162 South Third street, villiamsburg.

Dr. J. F. Chaveau is a native of South Carolina, and is of French extraction. When quite young is parents removed to Port au Prince, Hayti, there the Doctor was educated. He came to the proper t cleansed, indeed, from the dirt and trash which peas naturally accumulate; and at last, when the number Peter A. Williams, one of the best known colored men of New York, has a residence on the corner of Putnam and Franklin avenues, Brooklyn, finely furnished. His daughter ranks among the most accomplished of the dusky belles, and is a leader of sable fashion. Williams is worth about twenty-five thousand dollars, and is a hair-dresser by profession. Some four weeks ago a grand fete was given at his residence to the officers of the Haytien frigate, 22d of December, which was the most recherche affair ever gotten up here by the colored people.

ate, 22d of December, which was the most recherche affair ever gotten up here by the colored people. The Williamses spend the summer at Newport, R. I. George Lawrence, Jr., is one of the Secretaries to the Haytien legation. He has a fine education, and has translated several French works into English. He was at one time the editor of the "Pine and Palm," which position he held with much ability. His complexion is nearly white. Residence, 80 Wooster street. Samuel J. Howard is one of the weathy colorest religious to lear for the health of their citizens. He is said to be worth about seventy thousand dollars. He is engaged in the real estate business, and in trading with the South. He is also with the emaciated and diseased men who were a prominent member of Old Zion, and attends trundled into them. The hospitals were constructed trundled into them. neighborhood began to fear for the health of their prominent member of Old Zion, and attends urch very regularly. He resides in Fleet street, of logs, unhewed, the crevices unfilled and open hurch very regularly. He resides in Fleet street, of logs, unnewed, the crevices difficultion admitting the rain, without floors, cots, bunks, admitting the rain, without floors, cots, bunks, Robert Watson is doing an extensive business or blankets, fifthy and fettid with the festering, pu-Sullivan street. The interior of his own house is very carefully furnished, and contains many oil paintings. Estimated worth about \$75,000. Residence, Sullivan street.

Edward V. Clark, a popular caterer, is still doing a flourishing business. He was formerly in the jewelry business. His residence is very pleasantly situated, and is adorned by two accomplished daughters. Residence, 217 Sullivan street. Worth about before my eyes to prepare me for the ordeal, they before my eyes to prepare me for the ordeal, they would have failed to realize the facts as I saw them face to face.

I will not pollute any page, save the records of

the court that must try the culprit for the crime of torture by disease and filth, with the details of that caravansary of horrible, intentional slaughter.

COLORED SCHOOLS IN EASTERN MARY-

Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Philips, and Theodore Tilton. He is a man of fair education and superior intelligence, and of such light complexion that he would very readily pass for an Anglo-Saxon.

Theodore Duplessis, a rising young colored American, is considered the best incorrect maker in the city. His catablishment is at 110 Thomson street. city. His establishment is at 110 Thomson street. He is unmarried, and lives with his mother. His parlor is very elegant, the album on the "what not" containing cards of many colored personages, including distinguished colored British officers from Nassau, New Providence. Several beautiful land scape paintings adorn the walls. the removal of their teacher, and his subsequent ea-cape to the North. The lessons so abruptly ter-minated are now resumed by Mr. Douglass's son, after an interval of thirty years. In that time Slavery has been destroyed in Maryland, and after VILLE DISTRICT.

The last gun of the war has been fired, and the Southern boys are silently returning to their homes with heavy hearts. They return in poverty and humiliation to their desolate homes, and no smile of sympathy or cheering word greets them on their way. The record of their deeds of valor and heroic suffering illuminates no city and village papers. The history of their regiments is buried with the sad recellections of the past, and the Southern soldier rests under a stigma if he publishes it to the world. Such is a defeat in war.

It will be remembered by those of our citizens

Slavery has been destroyed in Maryland, and after so many years of unrequited toil these men begin anew that development which the oppression of Slavery so long arrested. They were a little older than Douglass, and must now be nearly or quite fitty years old. The fact that in their declining years they take the first opportunity of learning to read, speaks well for them, and prompts the inquiry, what position these men might have attained if they had not been oppressed during the best years of their ifie? Thanks to the progress of Freedom, their children will pass through life under no such privations as they suffered.

Lewis Douglass writes that the ir dvantages of learning, and his school is d.

The people are yet poor, as this is ear of freedom, and are consequently rear of freedom, and are consequently yet to support their schools as they When their crops are gathered and sol When their crops are gathered and sold the fit they will have some money, and be able to he themselves in a much better position for next year

THE NECROES AND THE CHIEF JUSTile

" Agate" of the Cincinnati Gazette anied Chief Justice and a degation of a interesting account of an interesting account of a interesting accou red men, in which the talk turned princ he suffrage question, as follows:

"" Suppose you were permitted to vote, aid to Chief Justice, "what guaranty would the Goometh have that you would know how to vote, a that your influence would not be cast on the ride. at your innuence wount not be cast on the idea ad morals and bad politics?

Oh, Mr. Judge, 'ejaculated a little black felia.

we know who our friends are.'

'I am not so sure about that. You don't know the positions of many of the leading men here, and some of them, by professing to be your final, might easily deceive you.'

'No, sir; I 'sure you we knows our final,' the same coal-black speaker. we know who our friends are.

No, sir; I sure you we knows our friends' esponded the same coal-black speaker.

'Perhaps you in the cities may. I am not dispeed myself to doubt it. But here is a great man of myself to doubt hands from the valential of the state of the s gnorant field hands from the pla e scattered all over Georgia, and e advantage or the opportunities o you have. What is to ou have. What he provided them you would not as their old masters may tell them?

Oh, we'll tell them how to role, sir; we have

means of reaching them; and they'll follow than they will their old masters or angled Possibly—perhaps even probably, they nor even you are familiar wit tory, the organization of parties or of leaders; and you your ignorance, you will not be tricked in the slavery ticket, under some pleasant and dece tive name, rather than the free

'Mr. Judge, we always knows who's our friends and who isn't. We knows the difference between the Union ticket and the rebel ticket. We may not know all about all the men that's on it; but me knows the difference between the Union and the rebel parties. Yes, sir; we knows that much letter than you do! Because, sir, some of our peopstand behind these men at the table, and hear! talk; we see 'em in the house and by the wayside and we know 'em from heart to core, bet do or can do, till you live among 'em as long and see as much of 'em as we have.'
'I have no doubt of your com

care of yourselves in Savannah, said the Chief Ju-tice; but what your friends at the North are afraid of is that your people in the interior will not know how to tell whom to vote for, for the present at least, and that in their bewilderment they will vote just as their old and kind masters tell then they ought.'
'I tell you, Mr. Judge,' said the preacher, 'ne

can reach every colored man in the State; and they would rather trust intelligent men of their on color than any white man. They'll vote the ticket oce tell them is the ticket of our friends; and as fast as they can, they'll learn to read and judge for emseives.'
'Sir,' he continued, 'the white population of Georgia is five hundred thousand, and of that num

ber fifty thousand, or one in ten, can't read and write. Give us three years to work in, and among our younger adults the proportion who cannot n don't read and write because they don't want to our people don't because the law and public feeling were against it. The ignorant whites had ever chance to learn, but didn't : we had every el remain ignorant, and many of us learned in spike

SOLDIERS' OUTRAGE UPON A NEGRO BOY.

A passenger who came up on the steamer Genera Buell, vesterday morning, has informed us of a mo inhuman act that was committed by some soldier of the 3d Ohio Cavalry, upon a negro lad in their ommand, which resulted in his death. During the ight it was discovered that this boy, whose na re could not learn, some seven years old, had at propriated a bundle of clothing which had been the property of a soldier who had lost his life by drowning in a Southern river. He was assaulted and beaten by several of the soldiers, the whole reg-ment, seven or eight hundred in number, being on board, and all who could get near enough witnessing the performance. almost helpless, he was taken by two or three of vessel was under full be low the city. No one of all the number i to prevent the fiendish outrage, and when his body went under, some of them s nigger out of the way." His hands were seen come up out of the water, as if seeking for some one or some thing to save him; but the paddles of one or some thing to save him; but the paoulaw the wheel struck him, and carried him out of sight and out of trouble. Afterward, when our informant, having learned of the fact, asked some of them why they threw him over, or why they dish. have the boat stopped and rescue him, they replie threateningly: "Who cares for a d-d nigger?" and We care no more for the nigger worshippers we do for the niggers." Such wanton destruction of life should not be allowed to pass without an of life should not be allowed to pass without an effort being made to ferret out and punish the offenders.—Cincinnati Gazette.

"BLIND TOM."

It will be remembered by the lovers of music and ovelty, that a year or two hov made a tour through the border slave States giving concerts as a pianist. He was a slave only a years old, and besides being blind was idio yet his skill as a performer on the piano was woode ul, if not miraculous. He had acquired the art instinct as it were, and it was a passion with the the exercise of which he could not restrain. At five years of age, blind and stupid as he was, he had climbed up on the stool beside his mistress, and introversely played a harmonious second to the piece she was performing. From this time on he had sought the piano as the child its mother, and without any instruction, for the reason that he could not compressed. struction, for the reason that he could not co could play the livelong day ompositions, that compositions, that he could have the without repeating himself. His performances were confined to the slave States, for the reason that his consider the confined to the slave States, for the reason that his master feared that somebody would "statal" him, all make a fortune out of him. During the war he had make a fortune out of him. his master's family, near still further increasing the extent of his ac ments. The war having closed and he becoments. man, the sons of his former master have brought northward for the purpose of exhibiting his post and entertaining the music-loving community sits series of concerts. They are now in the city at will see he are south to the sublic in Mozari his will soon be presented to the public in Mos We spent an hour with him last evening in with a number of others, and feel bound to say he is truly a prodigy.—Cincinnati Colored Cincin

IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER WOULD inform the public that she has removed 223 Washington Street, to
No. 31 WINTER STREET.

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure that are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being under from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair ferre using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning groy.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its nife ral color in nearly all cases. She is not a firrid to speak of

She also has another for restoring grey pair to ral color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to spish her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are also nevery city in the country. They are also parked for it never years, as they often say they can be actioned it is the country. They are also parked for it ree years, as they often say they can be actioned like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTES,

NO. 31 Vintar Street, Roston.

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† The